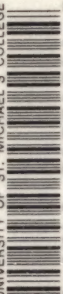


UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE



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THE LIVES OF THE POPES

VOL. XVII.

THE LIVES OF THE POPES IN THE MIDDLE AGES

BY THE
RT. REV. MONSIGNOR HORACE K. MANN, D.D.

"De gente Anglorum, qui maxime familiares Apostolicæ Sedis semper
existunt" (*Gesta Abb. Fontanel.*, A.D. 747-752, ap. M.G. SS. II. 289).

RECTOR OF THE COLLEGIO BEDA, ROME; CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF
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DI STORIA PATRIA.

THE POPES AT THE HEIGHT OF THEIR TEMPORAL INFLUENCE

INNOCENT II. TO BLESSED BENEDICT XI.
1130-1305



VOL. XVII.
NICHOLAS IV. TO ST. CELESTINE V., 1288-1294

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A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME

Potthast . . .	= <i>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum</i> , ed. A. Potthast, 2 vols., Berlin, 1874.
Reg. . . .	= One of the volumes of the <i>Registres des Papes</i> in course of publication by the French Schools of Athens and of Rome, ed. Fontemoing, Paris.
L. P. . . .	= <i>Liber Pontificalis</i> , 2 vols., ed. L. Duchesne, Paris, 1886.
M. G. H. or Pertz . . .	= <i>Monumenta Germaniæ Historica</i> , either <i>Scriptores</i> (M. G. SS.), or <i>Epistolæ</i> (M. G. Epp.), or <i>Poetæ</i> (M. G. PP.).
P. G. . . .	= <i>Patrologia Græca</i> , ed. Migne, Paris.
P. L. . . .	= <i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. Migne, Paris.
R. I. SS. . . .	= <i>Rerum Italicarum Scriptores</i> , ed. Muratori, Milan, 1723 ff., or the new ed. in course of publication.
R. F. SS. . . .	= <i>Recueil des Historiens des Gaules</i> , ed. Bouquet and others, Paris, 1738 ff.
R. S., following an edition of a book	= The edition of the Chronicles, etc., of Great Britain and Ireland, published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.
Rymer or Foedera . . .	= <i>Foedera, Literæ, etc., ab anno 1101 ad nostra usque tempora</i> , accurante T. Rymer. Unless the contrary is stated, we quote from the original ed., London, 1704 ff.

Other abbreviations will be readily understood by reference to the *Sources* prefixed to each biography.

The sign † placed before a date indicates that the date in question is the year of the death of the person after whose name the sign and date are placed. The sign * placed before the title of a book indicates that the author of these volumes has seen the book in question favourably mentioned, but has not examined it himself.

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NICHOLAS IV.

A.D. 1288-1292.

Sources.—As there is no extant contemporary biography of Nicholas, the best source for his *life* is his *Register* which has been published in two volumes by E. Langlois (Paris, 1905). The editor has done his work well, adding a number of most useful tables. One gives the numbers in his edition which correspond with certain of the documents analysed by Potthast. Another puts the bulls in their proper chronological order; a third gives their “incipits”, and the last an index of proper names.

The only thing one misses is an introduction such as Prou prefixed to his edition of the *Register* of Honorius IV. The first thing that strikes one in looking over the *Register* of Nicholas IV. is the number of indulgences which he granted to those “who had confessed their sins, were truly sorry for them”, and who had paid a visit to some church on certain feast days. The indulgences varied from “forty days” to “two or three years”.¹ This *Register* also shows that the custom of assigning cardinal-protectors to persons and institutions was growing.²

The biography of Nicholas, published by Muratori (R. I. SS. iii, pt. i) “from the MSS. of Bernard Guidonis” is the same as that published by Eccard (*Corpus*, i, p. 1461) under the name of Theoderic of Nein, and almost the same as the one he gives “from another” MS. of the Ambrosian library (Milan). Of no additional use is the *life* from Amalricus Augerius, ap. *ib.*, iii, pt. ii, p. 433.

¹ Cf. nos. 135, 257, 285, 289, 333, 415, etc. Sometimes the indulgences were granted for hearing sermons, e.g., nn. 191, 214; and sometimes we see the Pope delegating power to others to grant similar indulgences, e.g., n. 297.

² Cf. n. 3940, where a cardinal-protector is assigned to the city hospital of St. Thomas *in Formis*; n. 4059 to the Humiliati, n. 4094 to the Church of S. Croce; n. 5010 to the Knights of St. James in Portugal; nn. 5459, 6848 to the monasteries of S. Maria de Farneto and of Subiaco; n. 5751 to Margaret, the wife of Guy de Montfort, etc.

A few pleasing facts in connection with the early life of Jerome of Ascoli may be gathered from the statement or "process" which was drawn up for the canonization of brother Conrad of Ascoli, the playmate of Jerome. This document was found by Luke Wadding, and inserted by him, in an abridged form, in his *Annales Minorum*, v, p. 213 ff.

Dr. H. Finke's *Acta Aragonesia*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1908 (extracted from the diplomatic correspondence of James or Jayme II., King of Aragon, 1291-1327, furnishes a number of documents useful for the story of the pontificate of Nicholas.

In the second volume of Mabillon's *Museum Italicum*, Paris, 1689, there is a collection of *Ordines Romani* or books of ceremonies. The fourteenth of these he ascribes to Cardinal James Gaëtano Stefaneschi, the historian and relation of Boniface VIII. It is, however, as it stands, obviously interpolated, and has been studied by L. H. Labande, "Le cérémonial romain de Jacques Cajétan" in the *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes*, Jan., 1893, p. 45 ff. He concludes that the original edition of the work of the cardinal is represented by MS. n. 1706 of the library of Avignon. Then about the end of the fifteenth century, an unknown writer, using the *Ceremonials* of Peter Amelli and William d'Estouteville, re-edited the work of Stefaneschi, and produced the *Ordo* published by Mabillon. The original work of the cardinal embodied certain historical details, some of which have been printed by Labande, and illustrate our period.

To the Chronicles already quoted, we may add the *Cronaca Romana* (1288-1301), which is only a brief diary of Guidotto Spiapasto, procurator at Rome for the Commune of Vicenza.¹

In connection with the missionary and crusading efforts of Nicholas, mention may be made of that "brilliant Franciscan thinker" and martyr († 1315), Raymond Lull. Born in 1235 at Palma, and renouncing the world in 1266, he spent the rest of his extraordinarily energetic and devoted life in labouring both by word of mouth and by his prolific pen² for the conversion of the infidel. Understanding that the faith must be

¹ Ed. D. Bortolan, *Archivio Veneto*, vol. xvii (1887), p. 66 ff.

² Salzinger published, or rather proposed to publish, his works in ten volumes (1721-42, Mayence); but it would seem that vols. vii and viii were never issued. These vols. contain only 48 out of the 260 works certainly written by Lull.

preached, he was for ever urging the Popes and all his superiors to establish colleges wherein might be taught the languages of those to whom the faith had to be preached. But, in dealing with the Moslem, he also understood that the sword must be met by the sword, and so urged that he should be driven from Spain, and then gradually eastwards along North Africa from Ceuta. He came to Rome in 1291, for the second time, in order to propound his views to Pope Nicholas. To him he unfolded his plans for dealing with the aggressive Moslem, and for the establishment of centres of Oriental studies. But, "on account of the formalities of the Curia—propter impedimenta Curiae," as his contemporary biographer expresses it, he did not accomplish much.¹

As in the case of Honorius IV., time has allowed a few documents of Nicholas' treasury department (*camera apostolica*) to escape its ravages. One of Sept. 13, 1290, setting forth the dues of the *camera*, in the two Sicilies, was published by Muratori, *Antiq. Medii Ævi*, vi, pp. 150-4. P. Fabre has published two more, ap. *Mélanges d'Archéol.*, 1890, p. 369 ff., and 1897, p. 221 ff. He entitles the first: "La perception du cens apostolique dans l'Italie centrale en 1291," and the second: "Le perception du cens ap. en France en 1291-3." We have freely used his commentaries on these documents.

Modern Works.—In 1585 Jerome Rubens, the historian of Ravenna, compiled a *life* of Nicholas which was edited with copious notes by A. Mathæias, a professor of Pisa in 1766.² This work is still very useful. F. P. Massi's *Niccolo IV.*, *primo Papa Marchigiano*, Senigallia, 1905, is a short piece of declamation of no practical use for historical purposes. But Dr. O. Schiff, in his *Studien zur Geschichte P. Nikolaus' IV.*, Berlin, 1897, has written three dissertations on the policy of Nicholas in

¹ *Vita*, c. 2, n. 13, ap. *Acta SS.*, t. v, Jun., die 30. The data on this visit given by Barber, *Raymond Lull*, London, 1903; André, *Raymond Lulle*, Paris, 1900, and Beazley, *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, i, p. 311, must be corrected by Golubovich, *Bib. dell' Oriente*, p. 366 f. Cf. *ib.*, p. 373 ff., for the original of Lull's *petition* to Popes Celestine V. and Boniface VIII.

² *Nicolai IV. vita ex codicibus vaticanis cum observationibus Antonii Matthæi*, Pisa, 1766. The dissertation of Benedict XIV. on the cult once given to Nicholas is appended.

Sicily, Aragon, etc. He believes that Nicholas was a "well meaning, but rather weak man."¹

We will leave over to the chapter on "The British Isles" our notice of some documents that concern them more especially.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

EMPERORS IN THE WEST.

Rudolf of Hapsburg, 1275-91.

ENGLAND.

Edward I., 1272-1307.

EMPERORS IN THE EAST.

Andronicus II., Palæologus,
1282-1328.

FRANCE.

Philip IV. (le Bel, the Fair)
1285-1314.

¹ See *English Hist. Rev.*, 1899, Apr., p. 764 ff. Schiff's third dissertation on the quarrel between Venice and the Patriarch of Aquileia as to the government of Istria has but slight importance for the *life* of Nicholas. He attempted to make peace between them as he did between all combatants in different parts of Italy. Finally "the Republic bought the Patriarch's rights for a rent of 450 marks a year (1304)". Hodgson, *Venice*, ii, p. 180.

CHAPTER I.

HOLY SEE. ELECTION OF CARDINAL JEROME OF ASCOLI. HIS PREVIOUS CAREER.

AFTER the death of Honorius IV., the Holy See was ^{Vacancy.} vacant for the greater part of a year. Writing with a bitterness to no little extent justifiable, the English Chronicler, Thomas Wykes, says: "Through the discord, at once frivolous and despicable, of the cardinals, due perchance to the fact that each of them wanted the papal dignity for himself, the Apostolic See was vacant for nearly a year.¹ During the vacancy, death so thinned the ranks of the cardinals that their number was reduced to nine, . . . and the Church swayed to and fro without a head."

From this assertion that death reduced the number of cardinals to nine, combined with that of Ptolemy of Lucca that "six or seven" cardinals died during the vacancy,² we may conclude that fifteen or sixteen cardinals³ at first took part in the election of a successor to Honorius. For months they could not agree, and when the summer heats set in, and one after another of them died, the remnant left the unhealthy Aventine palace and dispersed.

¹ Wykes, *Chron.*, p. 312, *R. S.*, by mistake says: "*fere per biennium.*"

² *H.E.*, xxiv, c. 19. Cf. *Mem.*, *Pot. Reg.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, viii, p. 1168. From Eubel, *Hierarchia*, it is clear that the following six cardinals died during the vacancy: Geoffrey of Alatri, Giordano Orsini, the English cardinal Hugh Atratus, Gervase of Glinchamp, Comes Gluscanus, and Geoffrey de Barro, "*decanus Parisiensis*" whom Ptolemy calls "*decanus Pisanus*".

³ Probably 15, as John Cholet seems to have remained in France. Cf. Potthast, ii, p. 1825, giving various acts of his dated at different places in France from July to December, 1287.

The Cardinals carry on the Sicilian policy.

From a letter in Rymer addressed by "the cardinal-bishops, priests, and deacons of the Holy Roman Church to the lord Edward, the dearest son of the Church", it is clear, in the first place, that in carrying on the work of the Church, the Sacred College continued the policy of the Holy See in supporting the house of Anjou. They begged our King to continue his exertions for the release of the Prince of Salerno, assuring him that the liberation of the heir to the Sicilian crown would bring joy to the Church, and general satisfaction.¹ As this letter is dated Nov. 4, 1287, at Sta. Sabina, we may conclude that the cardinals had by that time reassembled for the election of a Pope.

Election of Cardinal Jerome, 1288.

When the other cardinals had left the Aventine, Cardinal Jerome alone had remained behind, and we are assured that he escaped the infection by causing fires to be kept burning in every room in the palace, even on the very hottest days.² At length, after many more discussions, the cardinal of Palestrina was unanimously chosen "by the method of scrutiny" (Feb. 15, 1288). Jerome, however, firmly refused the proffered honour; but on the following Sunday (Feb. 22), when he was re-elected, finally gave his consent, "lest," as he tells us himself, "we who had been brought up under obedience should seem too long to resist it."³ The same day, which

¹ Rymer, ii, p. 353 f. The contents of this letter show that it was not the first which the cardinals had addressed to King Edward on this subject.

² Ptolemy of Lucca, *Annales*, pp. 94-5, with the note on p. 95, ed. Minutoli, Florence, 1876. The passage in Muratori's ed. is corrupt.

³ See his encyclical of Feb. 23, *ap. Reg.*, n. 1. "Ne sub obedientia nutriti diutius eam contempnere . . . et mundi graviter guerrarum multiplicatione divulsi . . . tandem acquievimus." "Bis electus," says the chronicler *Flores temporum*, *ap. M. G. SS.*, xxiv, p. 249; Wykes adds, *Chron.*, p. 313 ("vexatione dante intellectum"), that the election was made by six cardinals, as "it is said" that three of them had been sent on an embassy. A "versifier" noted: "Frater Jeronimus mundo *minor*, est modo primus." *Ap. Annals of Waverley*, ii, p. 407 *R. S.*

was the feast of St. Peter's chair, he was solemnly "consecrated", or "with the greatest honour was placed in the very chair in which Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, had merited to sit".¹ The new Pope, duly crowned on March 1,² took the name of Nicholas (IV.), and lovers of the marvellous, like the unknown author of the *Annals of King Edward I.*, tell us that he took that name because, when he was a young man, St. Nicholas had foretold to him that he would be Pope.³ More prosaic people believe that he took the name in memory of Pope Nicholas III. who made him a cardinal.

"Jerome Petri Massius (Massi)" was born on Early career. September 30, 1227, of humble parents, in Lisciano, a hamlet so near Ascoli that Nicholas called himself and was called by others a citizen of Ascoli.⁴ In his youth he formed a close friendship with a young noble (afterwards brother Conrad) some seven years younger than himself. The friendship began by the little noble bending his knee to the country lad, and giving as his reason for so doing "that he saw in his hands the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven".⁵ The two boys grew up in virtue together; and, after talking the matter over between themselves, both of them decided to renounce the world, and were received into the Franciscan convent just outside the city of Ascoli. They were then sent to continue their studies, first at Assisi, and then at Perugia, where, despite their humble resistance, they were proclaimed

¹ Wykes, *ib.* Cf. B. Guidonis, *Vita*, etc., ap. Potthast, ii, p. 1826.

² G. Spiapasto, p. 427.

³ P. 481, *R. S.* The third fragment printed at the end of Rishanger.

⁴ In the *process* of Conrad (p. 213), he is described as "juvenculum rusticanum humili oppidulo Lisciano natum". The Pope himself (*Reg.*, 2413) wrote: "ad civitatem Esculanam in qua nostre nativitatís originem traximus." "Nacione marchie Anconitane" says Gilbert, *Chron. Pont. et Imp.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiv, p. 137; "Nacione Esculanus," *Mart. Pol., cont. Brabant.*, ap. *ib.*, p. 260. Cf. *ib.*, vol. xxx, p. 714, etc.

⁵ *Processus*, p. 213.

doctors of theology.¹ The two friends were then sent to Rome, where they spent "many years" in teaching theology and in preaching. Their zeal and earnestness at length acquired a reputation for them, and their superiors decided to advance them to positions of honour in the Order. Conrad contrived to evade advancement, and to be sent as a missionary to Africa; but Nicholas had to submit, and became Minister of the province of Slavonia or Dalmatia.²

Whilst Minister of Dalmatia, he was sent by Gregory X. to Constantinople to promote the union between the Greek and the Latin Churches (1272),³ and we have already seen how ably and successfully he accomplished his mission. In his absence he was elected Minister-General of the Franciscans at the general Chapter held at Lyons whilst the Council was in progress. He held that important office for five years (1274-9).⁴ Then, on March 12, 1278, whilst remaining General for a time, he was named cardinal-priest of S. Pudentiana by Nicholas III.⁵ On this occasion also he had received an honour during his absence. Jerome was at that date in France, whither he had been sent by Nicholas (1277) in order to make peace between the Kings of Castile and France on the subject of the "Infants of Cerda".⁶ In

¹ *Ib.*

² *Ib.*, *Mart. Pol. cont. Angl.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxx, p. 714, "Factus primum est predicator, deinde lector provincialis"; and *Chron. XXI. General. O.M.*, p. 352, ed. Quaracchi. *Cf.* p. 335 n.

³ *Cf. supra.*

⁴ *Chron. XXIV. G.*, p. 353. We have letters of his in which, as Minister-Gen., he sends to the chapter of the Order held at Padua in 1275, etc., an account of the miracle by which St. Francis restored eyes to a man who had been deprived of them. See his letter of May 5, 1275, ap. *Archiv. Francisc. hist.*, an. 1908, p. 85 ff., and of Apr. 23, 1276, ap. *Chron. XXIV. G.*, p. 358, n.

⁵ *Reg. Nic. III.*, nn. 243, 260.

⁶ *Cf. supra*, and *Chron. XXIV. Gen.*, p. 366; Golubovich, *Biblioteca dell' Oriente*, ii, p. 421 ff.

France, we are told that he was joined by friar Conrad, the friend of his early life, and that his mission was successful owing to the help he received from his old friend.¹ Without making the least attempt to probe the accuracy of these two statements, we will content ourselves with observing that the Holy See was evidently satisfied with the manner in which he conducted his mission, for in 1281, Martin IV. made him cardinal-bishop of Preneste.

When Jerome returned to Rome, he took Conrad with him, and for two years had the benefit of his society. At the end of that period Conrad was sent to Paris to teach; but no sooner was the cardinal of Preneste made Pope, than he bade him return to Rome to be made a Cardinal. Unfortunately, however, the good friar contracted a fever on his journey and died "an hour before the dawn" in the monastery outside Ascoli, in which he had first been educated (Apr., 1289).² Nicholas was greatly distressed at his friend's unexpected death, and declared to the cardinals that it was a great loss not merely to their College, but to the whole Church.

It is allowed both by contemporary and modern authors Character. that Nicholas was learned and holy. The writers of his Order, to which he was devoted, quite naturally praise him very highly, even going as far as to attribute wholly to him that union of the Greeks to the Roman Church under Gregory X. (1274), which they enthusiastically exaggerate.³ His learning and holiness are, however, extolled by contemporaries who were not Franciscans.⁴

¹ *Processus*, p. 214.

² *Ib.*, p. 214-15.

³ "Ipso efficaciter procurante, Græci ad Sedis apostolicæ obedientiam redierunt." *Chron. XXIV. G.*, p. 356. "Hic totam Græciam adduxit ad fidem et obedientiam S. R. E." *Reg. Frat. Min. Lond.*, p. 533-4, ap. *Mon. Francisc.*, i, R. S.

⁴ *C.*, 113 *sub fin.*

Even the Sicilian historian, Bartholomew of Neocastro, who heartily disapproved of the policy of Nicholas towards his country, speaks of him as a "pastor of remarkable holiness".¹ From his condemnation of friar Roger Bacon,² however, one may be excused for doubting whether his intellect could be ranked with the best of his time. This conclusion may be further justified by the allegation made by certain chroniclers that he was led by the cardinals.³ Nor can his intelligence, of whatever calibre it was, be said to have been of a worldly and practical order. We are told that, as head of the Church, "he displayed such humility that he disbanded the guards (clavarios) whom his predecessors had employed to protect their persons, and caused fool's bladders to be carried in front of him."⁴ If Nicholas really acted in this way, we can the more readily understand the disappearance under his pontificate of the good order maintained by his predecessor. Timid in tackling the affairs of life that came before him, of narrow outlook and slow in the transaction of business, Nicholas lacked the qualities that make a successful ruler of men.⁵ He was, as we believe, according to the just judgment of

¹ Wykes, *Chron.*, p. 313, speaks of him as "virum, ut fertur, supereminentis literaturæ, et sanctitatis eximie". Cf. *Flores Hist.*, iii, 68, *R. S.*, where his knowledge of Greek is insisted on.

² Cf. *Chron. XXIV. G.*, p. 360. "Hic Generalis . . . de multorum fratrum consilio condemnavit . . . doctrinam f. R. B., etc."

³ "Pre nimia benignitate sua ductilis fuit, ita ut pro voluntate cardinalium regebatur." *M. Pol. cont. Ang.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxx, 717.

⁴ *Chron. de Lanercost.*, i, p. 121.

⁵ Leo of Orvieto, *Chron. Pont.*, p. 336, ed. J. Lamius, Florence, 1737. Leo was a contemporary. "Hic . . . Doctor eximius vir vita laudabilis, sanctitate famosus, sed in negotiis adgrediendis timidus, et pusillanimis, ac in expediendis tardus." Cf. the judgment of Angelo Clareno in his *Hist. trib.* "Vir mansuetus (*sic*) et satis modestus et tardus ad iram et injurias inferendas, licet esset remissus et tepidus in promociione bonorum." *Quinta trib.*, p. 288, ed. Ehrle in *Archiv für Litteratur*, Bd. ii, Heft i, 1886.

Gregorovius, "a pious monk, without thought of self; concerned only for the peace of the world, for a Crusade, and for the extirpation of heresy."¹ When we read that he used in all seriousness to say that he would rather be his brethren's cook than a cardinal, we can certainly see how little he thought of his own advancement.² We are not, therefore, surprised to hear that, in his private capacity, he was dear to all,³ and very generous to poor clerics, if only they had satisfactory qualities. He expected them to be able to read well, sing well, write or compose well (*bene construit*), and to have skill in some science (grammar, logic, rhetoric) or in any of the liberal arts (medicine, canon or civil law). To such he gave prebends and special favours.⁴

On the day after his election, Nicholas announced it to the various rulers of the Church and the State. After expressing his wonder at the ways of God, he went on to tell how, against all his wishes (for it had been all his desire to lead a retired life of contemplation), he had all his life been kept in the midst of the whirl of business. Finally, by the unanimous and insistent call of his brethren, he had been compelled to shoulder the burden of the chief priesthood. That he might be able to bear that dread weight, he earnestly begged the prayers and help of his correspondents; and, in conclusion, urged them to be just to their subjects and not to give more than bare necessities to the bearers of his letters.⁵

Nicholas did not take long in settling down to the routine work involved in the ruling of the Church. The procurator of Vicenza tells us that he held his first

¹ *Rome*, vol. v, p. 508.

² S. Antoninus, *Chron.*, tit. xxiv, p. 781.

³ *Mart. Pol. cont. Ang.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxx, p. 714.

⁴ *Ib.*, cont. *Brabant.*, ap. *ib.*, xxiv, p. 260.

⁵ *Reg.*, n. 1. This gives a brief sketch of his pre-papal life. Cf. *ib.*, 2-5. Potthast, 22604, 22648.

business audience on April 6, in the Vatican,¹ to which he had betaken himself from the Lateran towards the end of March. These business sittings were for the time suspended on the last Friday of the same month. But when, soon after, the Pope went to Rieti, they were resumed,² and on May 16 he made a number of cardinals.³ In his selection of the new members of the Sacred College, Nicholas displayed no little shrewdness. Of his six nominees one, Matthew of Aquasparta, was a Franciscan, another, Hugh Seguin, was a Dominican, while Napoleon, the cardinal-deacon of St. Hadrian, was an Orsini, and Peter of St. Eustachio was a Colonna.

Nicholas is said to have unduly favoured the Friars.

Though in the College of Cardinals, Nicholas thus nicely balanced Roman families and the new religious Orders, it is not so clear that he was as careful of his episcopal appointments. At any rate, such as were opposed to the Franciscans declared that, in his undue elevation of his Order, he made a great many of them bishops. Rishanger declares that "this idol", as he was called, of the Friars Minor so legislated in their behalf as to make them lose their heads completely⁴; and the author of the *Flowers of History* assures us that the Franciscans, "counting the Pope as the sun and the archbishop of Canterbury (J. Peckham, O.M.) as the moon, began to erect their horns against the whole world, sparing neither Order nor position in the English province," especially the Benedictines.⁵ Nor did this same group of writers hesitate to prophesy that, on

¹ "Primo fecit audientiam literarum et causarum." *L.c.*

² *Ib.*

³ Potthast, n. 22712; Ptolemy of Lucca, l. xxiv, c. 20.

⁴ *Chron.*, p. 112, R. S.

⁵ *Flores Hist.*, vol. iii, p. 75, R. S. Cf. *Annals of London*, ad an. 1292, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxviii, p. 553, and *Ex notis S. Martini Lemov.*, ap. *ib.*, xxvi, p. 439.

the death of Nicholas, the Friars would fall as quickly as they had risen.¹

It is, indeed, certain that Nicholas favoured his Order. He attended its General Chapter in Rieti (1289), and there confirmed the election of Raymond Gualfredi as its twelfth Minister-General.² He protected it from calumny,³ and, naturally enough, granted it privileges, such as freeing it from all jurisdiction except that of the Holy See.⁴ But he also favoured other religious orders,⁵ if not even the Fraticelli,⁶ so that there is no reason for believing that he greatly surpassed his predecessors in bestowing well-deserved favours on the still worthy sons of St. Francis.

¹ "Gloria, laus speculum Fratrum, Nicolæ Minorum Te veniente vigent, te moriente cadunt." Ap. *Flores, l.c.* Cf. *Ann. de Wigornia*, p. 509. The Friars said: "'Solem et lunam sub nostro habitu habemus.' Sed quarto non. Aprilis sol cognovit occasum suum."

² Mariano of Florence, *Compend. Chron.*, p. 54; and the *Annals of Colmar*, ap. Boehmer, *Fontes*, ii, 26.

³ *Reg.*, n. 2539.

⁴ Potthast, nn. 22694-7, 22702-10.

⁵ Favours for Dominicans, *ib.*, nn. 22758-9; for the Order of Penitents, 23355.

⁶ It is the ill-informed *Annales Florentini* (1288-1431), ap. Boehmer, *Fontes*, iv, p. 672, that assert that "he permitted the foundation of the superstitious sect of the Fraticelli". The first set of these sectaries, which split off from the Franciscan body under Angelo Clareno, would not appear to have shown itself schismatical or heretical at this date; and it is accordingly possible that N. IV. may have shown some favour to this group of Spirituals.

CHAPTER II.

MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE BY NICHOLAS IV. AND OTHER MEDIÆVAL POPES IN (1) PERSIA, (2) CHINA, AND (3) ETHIOPIA.

Interest of
Nicholas in
the
missions.

WHEN we think of the residence of Jerome of Ascoli in Constantinople, of his successful work for the union of the Greek Church with that of Rome, and of what he heard and saw of the wonderful enterprise of the missionaries of Innocent IV. and his successors, we are not surprised to find that, with the exception of the Crusades, Nicholas IV. was not interested in anything so much as in the eastern missions. His efforts in that direction must accordingly occupy our attention at some length. But, as his efforts were not isolated ones in the story of the Popes, we purpose, for the sake of greater clearness of exposition, to narrate here what was done in this matter not only by Nicholas, but also by some of his more immediate predecessors and successors.

I. PERSIA.

Introduction
of
Christianity
into Persia.

The boundaries of the Persian Empire, like those of every other empire, have varied from time to time. But when our Lord came into this world, the Empire of Persia occupied not only the great Iran plateau to the south of the Caspian Sea, but its western provinces, including Mesopotamia, the land of the two great rivers Euphrates and Tigris. At that same epoch, it was ruled by the Parthian dynasty of the Arsacids.

As in the case of many another country, it is not known exactly when or by whom Christianity was introduced

into it. This, however, we do know, that among those who listened to St. Peter on the first Pentecost were "Parthians and Medes and Elamites, and inhabitants of Mesopotamia."¹ No doubt then the doctrines of Christ crossed the frontiers of the Roman Empire, and found their way into Persia before the Apostles had all gone to their eternal rest. Indeed, there is a tradition that the Apostle Thomas himself preached in Parthia.² Then, despite the fact that the Roman and the Persian Empires were generally at war with each other, Christian soldiers, captives, and traders continued to cross the much disputed boundaries, and to pass on the faith they had received.

From the *Acts of Thomas*,³ which though only a kind of novel, dates from the first half of the third century, it can safely be gathered that Christianity was fairly diffused in Persia at that epoch.⁴ The same can be inferred from a letter of Dionysius, patriarch of Alexandria, to Pope Stephen I. (253-7). He writes⁵: "All the provinces of Syria and Arabia which at different times you have supplied with necessities, and to whom you have now written, Mesopotamia, Pontus, and Bithynia . . . all are rejoicing everywhere at the *unanimity* and brotherly love now prevailing." St. Irenæus,⁶ Tertullian,⁷ and Bardesanes (Bar-Daisan),⁸ too, are contemporary witnesses that Christianity had

¹ *Acts*, ii, 9.

² Eusebius, *H.E.*, iii, 1.

³ Eng. trans. in Wright, *Apocryphal Acts*. It is a Syrian document.

⁴ Cf. Burkitt, *Early Christianity outside the Roman Empire*, pp. 63, 72, 76, and the same author's *Early Eastern Christianity*, ch. vi. See also *The Teaching of Thaddeus or Addæus (Addai)*, a Syriac document of the third or early fourth century, pp. 23, 32, 48. Eng. trans. ap. Clark's *Ante-Nicene Library*, vol. xx.

⁵ *Ap. Euseb.*, l.c., vii, 5.

⁶ *Adv. hæres.*, i, c. 10.

⁷ *Adv. Judæos*, c. 7.

⁸ See B.'s (154-223) *Book of the Laws* in English and Syriac in W. Cureton's *Spicilegium Syriacum*, London, 1855, p. 1 ff. He tells of Christian communities in Bactria, etc.

found its way into Persia in the second century; and Arnobius,¹ in the third century, notes with emphasis that the same Christian faith is found among very different nations, among which he reckons the Persians, Medes, and Parthians.

Was the
Persian
Church auto-
cephalous in
the second
century?

The fact of this unity of faith and practice between Latins, Greeks, and Orientals, is obviously independent of any relation that may have existed between the Church in the Persian Empire and the patriarchal see of Antioch. Indeed, later Oriental writers, such as Maris, Amri, and Bar-Hebræus (twelfth and fourteenth centuries), have pretended that the Persian Church became "autocephalous" towards the end of the second century. They say that Achadabues (or Ahadabues), the fifth or sixth bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, the principal see in the Empire, was sent, when elected, to Antioch to be consecrated. There he was accused of being a Persian spy. Having escaped with difficulty to Jerusalem, he was there consecrated in virtue of letters received from Antioch. Thereupon "the Western Fathers", seeing the difficulties connected with the journey to Antioch, drew up a syngrapha (or systaticon) authorizing the Oriental bishops in future to consecrate their own chief, who should rank after the four patriarchs, and should have jurisdiction "over all the regions of the East, Mosul, Khorasan, and Persia".² It is, moreover, contended that the Council of Nicæa confirmed this

¹ *Adv. Gentes*, i, 10, and ii, 10 al. 12; Meshiha-Zekha, *Hist.*, often refers to churches which he had seen, and which dated from the second century. E.g., pp. 86, 96. Cf. also the "Acts of the Persian Martyrs in Rome (270), SS. Maris, Martha, Audifax, and Abacum". See Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, Jan. 19.

² Cf. Maris ibn Solomon, *Comment. de Pat. Orient.*, pt. i, pp. 5-6; Amri, pt. ii, pp. 4-7, ed. Gismondi, Rome, 1899; Bar-Hebræus, *Chron. eccles.*, vol. iii, pp. 24-6, ed. Abbeloos. The four patriarchs had no existence then. Cf. what the Rev. G. P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their Ritual*, i, p. 137 f., London, 1852, has to say about this early

resolution¹ in its thirty-third canon.² But the authenticity of this canon is much more than doubtful, nor can it be supposed that towards the end of the second century the Church in Persia was as developed as this story supposes.³ We can, however, safely conclude from this narrative that the perpetual warfare between the two empires was the chief cause of the isolation of the Persian Church, and of its subsequent schismatical and heretical development.

In the third century at any rate, the organization of the Church in Persia made great progress, whether that organization came from Armenia or Edessa.⁴ Eusebius tells us that Constantine was informed not merely that there were "infinite numbers" of Christians in that Empire, but that "the churches of God were numerous among the Persians".⁵ Writing in the sixth century, the monk Meshiha-Zeka (or Jesuzeka) of Adiabene, in his *History of the Bishops of Adiabene*,⁶ says that the Persian Church was in A.D. 225 governed by over twenty bishops.

Persecution
in the fourth
century.

About this very year (227) the Parthian dynasty of the Arsacids was replaced by the Sassanid (227-642). For some time the toleration which the Christians had autocephalous Church, especially p. 403 f., where his editor, J. Mason Neale, has to correct the statements of Mr. Badger, as they rest on a clear and now generally acknowledged forgery.

¹ Maris, *l.c.*, p. 7. Note what follows: It was further decreed "ne quis ex orientalibus proprium primatem apud patres occidentales accusaret".

² Al. can. 38. Cf. J. M. Neale, *The Patriarchate of Antioch*, pp. 29-30, 38 ff., and 119.

³ Cf. J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Perse*, p. 17, Paris, 1904.

⁴ Sozomen, *H.E.*, ii, 8, says that he thinks that the Armenians and Osrhoenians (the people especially of Edessa in Osrhoëne) introduced Christianity into Persia.

⁵ *Vit. Constant.*, iv, c. 8. Cf. c. 43.

⁶ *Sources Syriques*, vol. i, ed. Mingana, p. 106, Mosul, 1907, sold at Leipzig. Cf. Wigram, *The Assyrian Church*, pp. 24, 27, 37.

enjoyed under the earlier dynasty continued under the new one, and we see Persians like SS. Abdon and Sennen,¹ ignorant of persecution in their own land, coming to Rome, and there being put to death for their faith. But when the Roman Empire became Christian, and the Roman emperors began not only to protect their own Christian subjects, but to interest themselves in their coreligionists in Persia, the rulers of that country began to view the Christians with suspicion. Sapor II. the Great (309-79) may not have been much disturbed when he received a request from Constantine the Great, asking him to be kind to "the multitudes of Christians" in his dominions; but he may have wondered what the emperor meant when he went on to say that if he acceded to his request it would be well for him, as well as for his correspondent. His suspicions may well have been deepened when he found that Constantine considered himself the Defender of all Christians wherever they were,² and again when, about 343, he saw a missionary (Theophilus, *the Indian*) sent by Constantius causing a church to be built "where is the mart of Persian commerce hard by the mouth of the Persian Gulf".³ The Christians in Persia would naturally turn to a Christian ruler and a Christian Empire⁴; and

¹ Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, vii, p. 364 f. Martyred in the persecution of Decius, 250, their portraits, showing their Persian bonnets, may still be seen in the Catacomb of St. Pontianus. See the illustration in Roller, *Les Catacombes*, ii, p. 345. See also the case of the Persian pilgrims SS. Maris, Martha, etc., martyred at Rome in 270. Butler, *ib.*, i, p. 185.

² Cf. Eusebius, *Vit. Const.*, iv, cc. 8 and 9, and better in Theodoret, *H.E.*, i, 25.

³ Philostorgius, *H.E.*, iii, c. 4. This place may well have been Ommana on the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf. Most writers place O. in the bay of Chabbar on the Makran coast, though others identify it with Sohar "on the Batineh coast of Oman, north of Muscat". Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, pp. 150-1.

⁴ Because oft protected by them. See Theodoret, *H.E.*, v, 39.

such a famous man among them as bishop (?) Aphraates, known as the Persian sage,¹ writing in 336-7, did not hesitate to explain to the Christians that Sapor and his soldiers would be humbled and that the *Romans* would be victorious.² Whatever were the motives that animated Sapor II., he inaugurated one of the most terrible persecutions which the Church has ever experienced. It lasted almost continuously for forty years, and ceased only with the monarch's death (379). Sozomen gives 16,000 as the number of known martyrs in this persecution.³

No doubt the motives of Sapor and of his Zoroastrian advisers, the Magians, were in the main those of their people. Of these we are informed in some of the "Acts of the Persian Martyrs". The Christians, we are there told, "destroy our holy teaching, and teach men to serve one God, and not to honour the sun or fire. They teach them, too, to defile water by their ablutions, to refrain from marriage and the procreation of children, and to refuse to accompany the King of Kings in his wars. They have no scruple about the slaughter and eating of animals. They bury the corpses of men in the earth, and attribute to God the origin of snakes and creeping things."⁴

The death of Sapor did not end the persecution of the Christians. The Magians were ever trying to excite the Shahs against them,⁵ and at times put forth specious arguments in favour of their wishes. The following reasoning enabled them to prevail even on Chosroes I.,

Persecution
under
Chosroes I.

¹ See the introduction to his *Demonstrations* in vol. xiii of *A Select Library of Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers*, Oxford, 1898, p. 152 ff.

² See especially *Demonstrat.*, v, translated, *ib.*, p. 352 ff.

³ *H.E.*, ii, 14.

⁴ *Acts of Aqib-shima*, ap. *Acta SS.*, ed. Bedjan, 1890-5, cited by Wigram, *l.c.*, pp. 64-5. Cf. the official creed put forth by a viceroy of Yezdegerd II., 450, in St. Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, ii, 472, cited in the *Dict. of Christian Biography*, sub Chosroes.

⁵ See, e.g., Socrates, *H.E.*, vii, 8.

surnamed Nushirvan or the Just (531-79), to persecute the Christians. The Roman Cæsar, they said, compels all within his dominions to worship as he does. "Let thy godship, therefore, command that . . . all persons in thy dominions worship according to thy worship, and that such as insolently dare to resist thy commandment shall no longer live." ¹

The Persian
Christians
become
Nestorians.

But the action of the Roman Cæsars in trying to force upon their subjects acceptance or rejection of the councils of Nicæa, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, not merely brought temporary persecution upon the Christians of Persia, but plunged them for the most part into the "two-person" heresy of Nestorius, who had been condemned at the Council of Ephesus (431). "For the bishops generally throughout the whole country of Persia," says John of Ephesus, "are Nestorians, and but few orthodox (i.e., Monophysites) are found there." ² One certain result, at any rate, followed imperial interference in religious controversies. Whether it was a case of heretical emperors persecuting Catholics, or of Catholic emperors persecuting heretics, men were in each case driven into exile, and truth or error, as the case might be, was thus propagated. The great persecutions of the pagan emperors of old Rome drove Christians across the Euphrates, and thus helped to spread the faith in Persia. The attempts of the Basileus on the Bosphorus to make all men conform to his religious decrees helped in the

¹ John of Ephesus, *H.E.*, ii, 19; ed. Payne Smith, p. 119. John was a contemporary of these events. Cf. Evagrius, *H.E.*, v, 7-15; and the *Acts of S. Hiziabouzit*, p. 261, ed. F. C. Conybeare, in his *The Apology of Apollonius, etc.*, London, 1894.

² *H.E.*, vi, 20. To the Monophysite John "the orthodox" are naturally Monophysites. John also tells us significantly that "the Catholicus of the Nestorians was constantly at the court of Chosroes I." In his *Life of the Persian Bishop Simeon*, he repeats the assertion that "believing bishops and their dioceses are few there". See his "Lives of the Eastern Saints" (written 566-8), ed. W. Brooks, with Eng. trans. in *Bib. Orient.*, t. xvii, p. 138.

fifth century to spread Nestorianism in that country. About the middle of that century, Theodosius II. condemned "the impious creed of Nestorius" and those who professed it¹; and because they were persecuted by the Byzantine rulers, they were naturally favoured by the Persian rulers. If the latter were to have Christians in their dominions they had better, they argued, have those who were at enmity with Constantinople.² Accordingly, the Byzantine historian Cedrenus (c. 1057), states that Chosroes I., Nushirvan, out of hatred of the *Roman* Emperor, Heraclius, compelled the Christians in his dominions to become Nestorians.³

But how exactly did it come about that by the end of the sixth century most of the bishops, and presumably many of their people as well, had become Nestorians. The main reasons were the isolation of the Persian Christians, the absence of Persian bishops from the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon,⁴ the ambition of some of their ecclesiastical rulers, and the policy of the Shahs. During the first centuries of their Christianity the Persians were one in faith with the Greeks and the Latins; and, as they had received their faith and their orders from the West, they naturally looked up to its great bishops. If their bishops had been consecrated at Edessa,⁵ they were thus in dependence on the patriarch

¹ Evagrius, *H.E.*, i, c. 12.

² Cf. *ib.*, v, 7, where Chosroes I. has to complain of Christians in his dominions joining his enemies in time of war. It is true that they had been badly treated by the Persians "especially on account of their faith".

³ *Chron.*, i, 415, or ed. Bonn, i, 727. Cf. Agapius (Mahboub), *Hist.*, p. [199].

⁴ Cf. Agapius (Mahboub), *Hist.*, p. 151. On Agap. see note below.

⁵ "The 'Church of the Easterns' was the daughter," says Wigram, *l.c.*, pp. 25-6, "not of Antioch, but of Edessa." But Edessa in turn got its episcopal succession from Antioch. See Burkitt, *Early Christianity outside the Roman Empire*, p. 12, and his *Early Eastern Christianity*, pp. 18-19, and 26. From this last-named work we read

of Antioch from whom the episcopate of Edessa traced its origin. Indeed, Solomon, bishop of Basra on the right bank of the united rivers Euphrates and Tigris, writing about 1212, and speaking about the Eastern *Catholici*, the successors of Addai and Mari, says that they were "of the laying on of hands of Antioch". Then, of their later successors, he writes that they were "of the laying on of hands at Ctesiphon."¹

It is not, perhaps, certain that any Persian bishops were present at the Council of Nice. Some, however, believe that a certain John of Beit-Parsaya, a name found in Syriac lists of the Fathers of that Council, was a Persian, while others contend that Parsaya is a mistake for Perrhæ.² Of late years the tradition, given in our note below, that Persian bishops were present at Nice has been strengthened by the discovery of an anonymous history known as the *Chronique de Séert*, said to have been written not later than the beginning of the thirteenth century. "Among those," says our author, "summoned (to the Council) by the bishop of Rome, was Papa, who did not, however, assist at it, on account of his great age." He was, nevertheless, represented at it, he continues, by Simeon and by Mar Sahdost or James of Nisibis. Whether this statement is of any value or not, he quotes Elias, bishop of Merv, and Sahdost, bishop of Tîrhân, for the further assertion that among the Orientals at the Council were George, bishop of Sindjar, and John, bishop of Beit Garmaï. Now as Elias flourished in 661 and was the author of a "trustworthy" history

that according to some ancient Syriac documents, Serapion of Antioch (190-203), who consecrated Patûl of Edessa, was himself consecrated by Pope Zephyrinus. There may be want of historical accuracy in these statements, but they serve to show tradition.

¹ Cf. his *The Book of the Bee*, c. 51, p. 116, ed. and trans. of E. A. W. Budge, Oxford, 1886.

² In Commagene. Gams, *Series Episc.*, p. 436, does not give a bishop John of Perrhæ.

of the Church now lost, there does not seem much reason to doubt that Persian bishops were actually present at the Council.¹ But, in any case, the Persian bishops must have known all about the Council, as St. James of Nisibis (which fell into the hands of the Persians not many years after the Council), and Paul of Neo-Cesarea, a fortress on the banks of the Euphrates, were certainly present at it.² Unfortunately, however, the rivalry between the Roman and Persian Empires isolated the Christian subjects of the latter more and more from their Western brethren. Still, for nearly a hundred years after the Council of Nice, Persia was in full communion with the Church Catholic.

The ecclesiastical union between the Orientals and the rest of the Catholic world is well brought out by what we know of the story of Marutha, bishop of Maipherqat (or Martyropolis) near Amida, whom Socrates calls "Bishop of Mesopotamia".³ Sent on a mission by Theodosius II. to Yezdegerd I., Shah of Persia, he made himself as much beloved by that monarch as by his subject Christians. Through his influence, the Shah issued an Edict of Toleration (409) on behalf of his Christian subjects, permitted Marutha to erect churches

Council of
Mar Isaac,
410.

¹ The *Anon. Hist.* (ed. A. Scher, *Patrolog. Orient.*, iv, Paris, 1908), c. 18, p. 277. It is 'Abhd-ishó (thirteenth century) who calls the hist. of Elias "trustworthy". See Wright, *Syriac Lit.*, p. 180. Cf. the "Hist. of the Metropolitan See of Karka d'Beit Slokh", ap. Bedjan, *Acta MM. et SS.*, ii, 507. Agapius (Mahboub), a Christian Arab of the tenth century, says, p. 548, ed. Vasiliev, Paris, 1909, that Zinabius, bishop of Seleucia, was present at the Council of Nice.

² Theodoret, *H.E.*, i, 7. It may be noted that Bar-Hebræus, *Chron. Eccles.*, n. 23, ed. Abbeloos, i, p. 70, says that bishops from Mesopotamia and Persia were at the Council of Nice; and long before him Maris, *De Pat. Nest.*, i, p. 13, says that Papa, bishop of Valencia (whom Wigram, p. 26, calls the "first figure of any reality and weight" in the Persian Church), unable to go by reason of his age, sent two representatives who afterwards succeeded him.

³ *H.E.*, vii, 8.

wherever he wished,¹ and to hold with Mar Isaac, Catholicus of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, the first Persian Synod (410). Forty bishops assembled at Seleucia, acknowledged their indebtedness not only to Marutha, but also to various "chief bishops of the country of the Romans",² and accepted "the orthodox and true canons which had been laid down by the honoured bishops of the West", and of which the Western Fathers had sent them a copy.³ Marutha then insisted that all should show their adhesion to them by affixing their signatures to them. This was duly done, and all would have been well but for the interference of the civil power. The acts of the Synod tell us that Yezdegerd declared Mar Isaac head of all the Christians of the East, and made it treason for any one to resist the bishops appointed by him.⁴ It was the beginning of the end of the subservience of the Orientals to the civil power. When the Council was over, Marutha returned to Constantinople, and there proclaimed the integrity of the faith of the Oriental Christians.⁵

Eastern
synod of 420.

Ten years later there was still absolute union in faith between East and West. On the occasion of another embassy from Constantinople, another synod of the Eastern bishops was called together by the Catholicus, Mar Jabalaha I.⁶ Again the Eastern bishops asked the Western envoy to give them the laws established by the blessed bishops for the Catholic Church in the Empire

¹ *Ib.* In fact, Socrates says that only death prevented the conversion of the Shah himself. Cf. the Synod of Mar Isaac, A.D. 410. It is the first council in the Syriac *Synodicon Orientale*, ed. Chabot, with a French trans., Paris, 1902. A Latin trans. of this particular Synod is given ap. Muratori, *Antiq. Med. Ævi*, iii, p. 975 ff.

² Of these the first named is Porphyrius, patriarch of Antioch. *S.O.*, p. 255.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 261. Cf. can. 12, p. 266.

⁵ Maris, p. 27.

⁶ The acts in Chabot, p. 266 ff.

of the Romans, in order that "professing the one time faith of those bishops who have succeeded the illustrious Apostles, we may be directed by the laws which they have made at different times, so that there may not be the smallest divergence between us and them, but that we may all be part of the one body which is Christ".

Unfortunately the union of the Orientals with the Church Catholic was at this very time on the eve of breaking. The peace-loving, fair-minded Yezdegerd I. died the very year of this Synod (420), and Jabalaha, the Catholicus, about the same time. Schism followed in both Church and State. In the State it was soon ended. Vararanes (or Barhram II.) succeeded his father, and at once began to wage fierce war on the Roman Empire (420-1), and on the Christians of whom a number fled for refuge across the Euphrates.¹ But in the Church the schism is said to have led immediately to results much more fateful. On the death of Jabalaha, there were three candidates for his see, two of whom, Ma'na or Magnes and Farbokht, appear to have been put forward by the sword, and deposed by it. The third candidate, Dad-Ishu, who was ultimately selected, had in the interim to suffer considerable persecution. When his position was secured, there was held the Synod of Markabta (424).² Thirty-six bishops present at it recognized Dad-Ishu as head of the "flock of Christ in all the countries of the East". Then one of their number rose and pointed out what help the "rulers of the West" or "the Western Fathers" had been to them in their schisms from the days of Papa onwards. He

The Synod
of
Markabta,
424.
Still union.

¹ Socrates, *H.E.*, vii, 18-21. The persecution ended when the Persians had to make peace with the Romans. *Ib.*, c. 20. Theophanes, *Chronog.*, i, p. 134, ed. Bonn, explains that Theodosius made the peace especially for the benefit of the Christians. Cf. Maris, *De Pat. N.*, p. 31.

² *Synod. Ar.*, p. 285 ff.

told how these Western Fathers had taken cognizance of the attack on Papa, had reversed the decision of his enemies, and had deprived the ring-leaders of the rebellious bishops of their sees, but had left those in possession who had erred rather from simplicity than malice.¹ They also declared that the other Eastern bishops had no right to hold a synod against their head, the holder "of the patriarchal see established at Seleucia". Our Lord had indeed given the priesthood to all the Apostles, but the Principate only to Peter.²

Similarly, the Western Fathers and the Emperor of the Romans were the means of restoring to their positions both Mar Isaac and Mar Jabalaha.

After this, in the text of this synod which has reached us, comes the extraordinary conclusion that the Oriental bishops thereupon decreed that "the Orientals must not complain of their patriarch to the Western Patriarchs". Christ alone can judge their patriarch. This conclusion is so utterly at variance with all that precedes it, that modern writers generally believe there is interpolation somewhere. Labonst thinks that the first part is an interpolation; but as that is in harmony with the language of the synods of 410 and 420, it seems more likely that Assemanni is correct, and that the conclusion is a Nestorian invention.³

¹ *Ib.*, pp. 290-1. Thus they decided that Mar Simeon, who had been elected in Papa's place, might succeed him, as he had been forced to what he had done.

² They quote Mat. iii, 15, and xvi, 18, 19. Papa was the predecessor of Simeon Bar Cabaë, who was martyred in 341.

³ J. A. Assemanni, *De Catholicis Chald. et Nestorianorum*, p. 17, Rome, 1775. He also cites the words of Elias of Damascus (c. 890) in his *Nomocanone*, where anathema is pronounced against anyone who should dare to cite the Catholicus before any Patriarch. But, as he notes, all that was really decided by the Council under Dad-Ishu was that the Orientals should not hold conventicles against the Catholicus. Of course, Maris, in his account of Dad-Ishu, knows nothing of this unlikely decree (pp. 31-2).

However, before the next Oriental synod was held Nestorius. (486), the Council of Ephesus (431) had condemned Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, for teaching that in Christ there were two persons, and that doctrine, with schismatical consequences, had penetrated into the Persian Empire.

Hardly had one council been called together to condemn Eutyches. the "two-person" error of Nestorius, than another had to be called at Chalcedon (451) to condemn the "one-nature" error (monophysitism) of his opponent, the monk Eutyches. In his zeal to refute Nestorius, he fell into heresy himself, and taught, but in confused language, that after the Incarnation the God-man had but one nature.

Unfortunately before his authoritative condemnation by the Council of Chalcedon, Eutyches had, through the favour of the Emperor, been acquitted by the so-called Robber Synod of Ephesus (449). Many, especially among peoples at a distance, supposed that the tenets of Eutyches had been duly approved, and their belief was strengthened by the assurances of his followers who were exiled by the decrees of the Catholic emperors. Nestorians and Eutychians driven forth from the Roman Empire crossed the Euphrates into the Persian Empire,¹

¹ The Nestorians had captured the famous school of Edessa. Broken up by the emperor Zeno in 489, its professors spread their doctrines over Persia. "Persarum schola ex urbe Edessa excisa est" says the Chronicle of Edessa in the *Corpus SS. Christ. Orient.*, SS. Syri, ser. iii, t. iv, p. 8, ed. I. Guidi. Cf. *ib.*, p. 9, sub an. 831 (Era of the Seleucidæ), i.e., A.D. 520, for a banishment of a bishop of Edessa to Seleucia because he would not subscribe to Chalcedon. An Eng. trans. of the *Chron.* is in the *Journal of Sacred Lit.*, 1864, p. 28 ff. Re the school of Edessa see also John of Ephesus, who wrote his *Lives of the Eastern Saints* (A.D. 566-8), about the same time that the Edessene Chronicle was written. See his *life of Simeon*, the bishop, ap. *Pat. Orient.*, t. xvii, p. 139, ed. Brooks. See also the important letter of the Monophysite bishop, Simeon Beth-Arsan (510-25), ap. Assemani, *Bib. Orient.*, i, p. 353.

where they were well received as hostile to the Cæsars at Constantinople. Both heresies found a permanent home in Persia, especially that of Nestorius which was first in the field,¹ and which national hatred of Egypt, and hatred of St. Cyril of Alexandria, caused to be preferred by the Orientals to Monophysitism.² It was, as we have seen, also fostered by the Shahs.

Barsauma,
real apostle
of Nestorianism.

Nevertheless, as the fifth century progressed, we are assured by Eutychius, patriarch of Alexandria (950), that Nestorianism was dying out in Persia, when it was revived by Barsauma, archbishop of Nisibis.³ He had imbibed Nestorianism in the famous school of Edessa,⁴ and, after being expelled from it with other Nestorians, became metropolitan of Nisibis (453), and all-powerful with Shah Firuz (457-85). He persuaded the Persian monarch that his Christian subjects would never be true to him until their faith was different from that of the Greeks, and that consequently he should force upon them the doctrine of Nestorius. This the King proceeded to do, and succeeded in spreading the heresy throughout his dominions.⁵

¹ Nestorius himself was banished to Egypt, Socrates, vii, 34; Evagrius, i, 7. A thirteenth century history known as the *Chronicle of Séert*, ap. *Patrolog. Orient.*, t. viii, p. 415, says that Theodosius banished "18 metropolitans, and many bishops, priests, and monks" who supported Nestorius. [See also Agapius, p. [155] *ubi infra*.] Cf. *ib.* vol. xiii, c. 55, p. 461 (Paris, 1919) for similar action of the Emperor Maurice.

² Cf. Agapius (Mahboub), first Arabian Christian historian (tenth century), *Hist. Univers.*, ap. *Pat. Orient.*, v ff., ed. A. Vasiliev, p. [152] and *passim*.

³ *Annals*, ap. Migne, *P.G.L.*, t. iii, p. 1033.

⁴ See note, p. 27.

⁵ Bar-Hebræus, *Chron. eccles.*, p. 62 ff. Eutychius, *l.c.*; Meshiha-Zeka, *Hist.*, p. 147; Maris, *De Pat. com.*, pp. 35-40 (the wretched character given to Barsauma even by Maris is enough to justify most of the accusations of Bar-Hebræus against him, or even those of Leontius of Byzantium in his work against the Nestorians, *Lib. iii*, n. 21. He wrote it between 529 and 544. There would appear to be

But Barsauma was not satisfied with propagating his views by violence only. He established a school at Nisibis, where the doctrines which he had imbibed from Ibas, bishop of Edessa, were taught, and when, in 489, the Emperor Zeno broke up the school of Edessa,

so much confusion of thought as to what is the kernel of the teaching of Nestorius, that we must say something about it, so as to answer the question as to whether those Orientals who are now and always have been called *Nestorians* are really so or not. Wigram appears to suppose they are not, but that in fact they are orthodox. Leaving aside the difficulty of supposing that their opponents for 1,500 years have been incapable of properly understanding their position, and granting that it may be difficult always to understand their terms, the very comparisons which they make in their official confessions show that they believed that, *for a time at least*, there existed a perfect human person, whatever became of it when the human nature which belonged to it was taken by the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity. They say, to use Mr. Wigram's own translation, "He took it inseparably, a *perfect temple*, to be the dwelling-place of his Godhead" (p. 275). Now, the human nature taken by the Second Person never existed *complete by itself like a temple* to be taken possession of by the Divine person. Hence there can be no doubt that the doctrine of these Orientals who revere Nestorius is correctly given by one of them who writes: "Note the belief in the unity of *parsopa* (person) of the son of God and of the man; call the Virgin, mother, not of God, but of the Christ; separate the natures; *see the persons*; but give one and the same adoration." Mar Sabrisó, † 650, ed. Mingana, *Sources Syriacques*, vol. i, 228. Cf. Meshiha-Zeka, pp. 141, 143-6; and Chabot, *Synod.*, pp. 583, 586, 597, 627, 632. See especially p. 597, where an assembly of Nestorian bishops states: "When Christ is called God, one does not mean the Three Persons of the Trinity, but only the person of God the Word; and similarly when Christ is called man, one does not mean all the persons of humanity, but only *that one person* of the human race who has been taken for union with God the Word. Nature cannot subsist without the person." And so in a conference before Justinian, Babaï, bishop of Sigar (Sindjâr), said that "nature (or substance) could not exist without an hypostasis (person), nor an hypostasis without a nature. Therefore, the two natures could not have one hypostasis" (*Chronique de Séert*, p. 188 or [96]). John of Ephesus, too, quotes another "Babaï", the Catholicus (499-504) as saying: "The Word of God came down on a *man* like us, born of a woman." (See his "Life of Simeon", p. 148, ed. Brooks, ap. *Bib. Orient.*, t. xvii. Mr. Wigram's views are not new. They had already been propounded by Mr. Badger, *l.c.*, and especially by F. F. Bethune-Baker, *Nestorius and his Teaching*,

Barsauma greatly strengthened his own school by receiving the fugitives into it.¹

The rise of
the
Catholicus of
Seleucia-
Ctesiphon.

Now that we have seen Nestorianism well on the way to becoming the dominant form of Christianity in the East, we must retrace our steps a little in order to sketch the rise of the bishop who was to become its head.

with special reference to the newly-recovered Apology of Nestorius, *The Bazaar of Heraclides* (French trans., ed. F. Nau, Paris, 1910), Cambridge, 1908. He tries to prove that "Nestorius was not Nestorian", p. vii. In judging of the teaching of Nestorius we must never forget that, according to his contemporary the able lawyer and historian Socrates (*H.E.*, vii, 32 and 4), he was grossly illiterate, and that he erred rather in his spoken than in his written words. He said: "I cannot call him God who was but two or three months old." Then it would appear that the three modern writers I have cited have never themselves fully grasped the Catholic doctrine that the human nature assumed by the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity had *never* an existence except as united to the divine. From the first instant of its existence, "the humanity," to use the words of Socrates, "was united to the Divinity in the Saviour." Hence Mr. Badger himself quotes documents that show that the Nestorians are Nestorians. One of the Nestorian service books (Khâmees), he says (ii, p. 39), proclaims that God the Son took "from us a nature *and a person*." Cf. *ib.*, p. 393, where he quotes Mar Abd Yeshua, the Nestorian metropolitan of Nisibis (1298), as saying in his *The Jewel*: God "took to Himself a *man* for His habitation . . . and thus united an *offspring* of mortal nature to His Divinity in an everlasting and indissoluble union." Mr. Baker assures us (p. 197) that Nestorius had "one only end in view—that no one should call the Word of God a creature or the *manhood* which was assumed *incomplete*" (the italics are ours), i.e., from the words of Nestorius, a *manhood* complete even as to its individuality or personality. Accordingly F. Nau, the translator of *Le livre d'Héraclide*, writes with justice (p. xii) "il a été victime de l'imprécision de son langage théologique".

¹ M.-Z., p. 147. John of Ephesus in his *Life of Simeon the Bishop* (*Persian*), ap. *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, ed. E. W. Brooks, *Pat. Orient.*, t. xvii, p. 138 (Paris, 1923), says: "It is especially in that country that the teaching of the school of Theodore and Nestorius is very widespread, so that believing bishops (i.e., Monophysite) and their dioceses are few there." Then, on p. 139, he tells of the suppression of the Persian school of Edessa, and of the Persian students ("keen enquirers") being established at Nisibis, "from which all the country drinks the dregs of gall." Cf. also Theodorus Lector, *H.E.*, ii, n. 5, ap. *P.G.L.*, t. 86, p. 186, etc., 49, p. 210.

Some twenty miles below Baghdad stands the village of El-Madaīn (the two cities), marking the site of the double city of Seleucia-Ctesiphon on the right and left bank respectively of the Tigris. Ctesiphon rose in importance with the decay of Seleucia, which from its position was more exposed to the attacks of the Romans. Tacitus calls it "the seat of the Empire" (of Persia), and in the early days of the Persian Church it was a very large city. As Christianity entered Persia from the north, it will be readily understood that there were other bishoprics in Persia before that of "the two cities".¹ To begin with, Seleucia-Ctesiphon was served by visiting bishops.² Its first permanent bishop was the ambitious Papa who was consecrated between the years 285 and 291,³ and its rise to ecclesiastical supremacy followed the same course as that of Constantinople. It was natural that the other bishops of the Empire should find it convenient to transact their business in the capital with the government or others through the resident bishop. Very soon Papa began to arrogate to himself "supremacy over all the other bishops".⁴ His ambition met with strenuous opposition, and so he appealed "to the bishops of the West" to support him. Thinking that, as there were patriarchs in the Roman Empire, it would be useful if there was a patriarch in the Persian Empire, the Western bishops acknowledged Papa as Patriarch (or Catholicus) of the East. Fear induced the Oriental bishops to submit, for they were afraid that the Western bishops would otherwise put them between the enmity of the Christian

¹ In fact Meshiha-Zeka (pp. 106-7) says that at the beginning of the Sassanid dynasty, when there were twenty bishoprics in Persia, there was not one either at Nisibis or at S.-C.

² Cf. *ib.*, p. 111, for the doings of Sahloupha (258-73), bishop of Adiabene, in S.-C. Cf. *Acta Miles.*, in Evod. Assemani, *Acta Martyr. Orient.*, i, 72, or Bedjan, ii, p. 266 ff.

³ M.-Z., p. 119.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 121.

emperors of Rome, on the one hand, and “ the perverse ” emperors of Persia on the other.¹ Such is the succinct way in which the sixth century historian tells of the rise to ecclesiastical pre-eminence of the see of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. This story of Meshiha-Zeka is supported not merely by the later compilers, such as Maris, etc.,² but substantially by the Council of Dad-Ishu (424).³

The bishop
of S.-C.
becomes the
head of the
Nestorians.

At any rate, the bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon did become the head of the Nestorians; and as his power over the other bishops increased, he and his Church, as they became more and more isolated from the West,⁴ became more dependent on the civil authority, more Erastian. Confining our evidence simply to the declarations of the Nestorian synods, we see the Nestorian bishops in A.D. 585 declaring that they held their sees “ by the permission of God and the royal authority ”.⁵ A little later (598) they call Chosroes II., it may be said perhaps with mere Oriental exaggeration of language, “ their adorable master,”⁶ and they allow that “ the King of Kings, the instrument of the great providential care of Our Saviour in their regard,” ordered them to assemble to elect a patriarch. When, on the occasion referred to, they did not elect the man he wanted, he would not allow the election of a successor to their nominee; and so the patriarchal see was vacant for twenty years.⁷ During that vacancy an assembly of bishops met in 612, at the bidding of Chosroes II., to hold a debate with

¹ *Ib.*, p. 123.

² Maris, p. 5; *Amri*, p. 4, and Bar-Hebræus, ii, p. 26, though, as we saw above, these authors ascribe the action of the Western bishops to a supposed predecessor of Papa.

³ *Cf. supra*, p. 25.

⁴ After the synod of 424, there is no more mention of the Western bishops in the Synods of the *East*.

⁵ Chabot, *Synod. Orient.*, p. 292.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 470.

⁷ *Ib.*, pp. 471-2, and 562.

the Monophysites. They offer the most fulsome praise to the man who was oppressing them,¹ and call on him to be the guardian of their faith, and to impose it on that part of the Roman Empire which he had subdued.²

But the Nestorians were not content with disputing with the Monophysites. They endeavoured to eliminate them. At any rate, the Monophysite historian, John of Ephesus, narrates that "on one occasion the Nestorian bishops of the chief cities met together to give information to the King of the Persians about the believers (Monophysites and perhaps Catholics too) in that country, saying: 'These men are traitors to your majesty, as it is in your power to learn, since their faith also and their rites agree with those of the Romans.' " These insinuations were successful, and the *orthodox* were persecuted till they could procure the intercession of the Emperor Anastasius (491-518).³

At the end of the twenty-years' vacancy just alluded to, the new Shah, Siroës, according to Elias of Nisibis, "ordered Ishu-Yahb II. of Gedala to be elected and constituted Catholicus".⁴

But the Nestorians were soon to change their masters. The followers of Mahomet had left their burning deserts to spread his faith by the sword; and the Persian Empire, now rotten to the core, went under almost at the first assault. The battle of Cadesia decided its fate (636). The Nestorians were to live and gradually pine away under Moslem rule to the present day.

¹ *Ib.*, p. 581.

² *Ib.*, p. 585. The Nestorians became even more subservient to their Moslem rulers.

³ *Cf. Lives of the Saints*, ed. Brooks, ap. *Bib. Orient.*, t. xvii, p. 143. *Cf.* p. 152.

⁴ Cited in note 1, Vol. II, p. 114 of Abbeloos' ed. of Bar-Hebræus. *Cf.* Maris, p. 54. Thomas of Magia, *Bk. of Govs.*, i, c. 35, says that S. "commanded the Christians to elect a patriarch, and I. was appointed."

Spread of
Nestorianism
to the East.

But meanwhile glorious work was to be done by them. One result no doubt of the Arab invasion was to turn the thoughts of many of them to the East in order to escape the invader. Christianity had, of course, been spreading eastwards to a greater or less extent for some time.¹ This Eastern propagation of the faith had received a considerable impetus whilst the friendship lasted between the Emperor Maurice and the Shah Chosroes II. During that period, says Michael, the Syrian, "Christianity developed in all Persia. Churches were built in the cities and in the country districts *even to the ends of the earth.*"² But no doubt the coming of the Arabs precipitated the missionary movement towards the far East, especially as, at first, the Christians were persecuted by the Moslems. It is true that, under the Abbassid Caliphate of Baghdad (750-1258), especially during the first and best period of its existence (750-847) when it was under Persian influence, Christianity was tolerated. Indeed, when the Caliph Mansûr founded Baghdad on the Tigris, some twenty miles north of Seleucia-Ctesiphon (762), the Catholicus left the decaying capital of the destroyed Persian Empire, went to the new city, and with the Christian body generally became the instructor of his conqueror. This state of things was very distasteful to the rigid Moslem, and we find the author of the *Siyasat-nama* (Treatise on the Art of Government, A.D. 1091-2) complaining that, quite different to what was the custom

¹ The Syriac Chronicle of 569, known as that of Zachary of Mitylene, tells us (L. xii, c. 7, p. 329 ff., ed. Brooks) that some priests from Arran in Armenia went into Central Asia among the Huns, "in a country where there is no peace," and "made converts among the Huns . . . and translated books (the Bible ?) into the Hunnic tongue," and that another priest "built a brick Church".

² *Chron.*, vol. ii, p. 374, ed. Chabot. Michael was the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch from 1166-99. Cf. Cosmas, *Topog. Christ.*, p. 118 ff., ed. McCrindle.

in the "days of Alp Arslan, Jews, Christians, Fire-worshippers are employed by the government".¹

There was a regular Christian quarter in Baghdad, known as Dâr-ar-Rûm, or House of the Greeks,² and the Eutychians and the Nestorians, especially the latter, had many churches and monasteries within and just without the city.³ Of the various Christian sects, the Moslems had from the very first most favoured the Nestorians. The Dominican missionary traveller, Ricold of Monte-Croce, tells us that he had read in authentic Saracenic sources that the Nestorians were friends and allies of Mahomet who had ordered his successors to protect them. The reason for this friendship is also suggested by the brother when he notes that both the Nestorians and the Saracens say that Christ is by nature man and not God, whereas the Jacobites (Eutychians) hold that by nature he is God and not man.⁴ With all that, especially as time went on, the Christians were liable to heavier taxation and to more or less severe outbreaks of persecution.⁵ We may therefore be sure that missionary zeal was helped by a wish to get clear of the Moslem.

Though travel towards the far East was difficult to the last degree, there was communication between Persia and even China. Under the Sassanids some dozen missions penetrated to China between A.D. 455 and 555,⁶ and later at Baghdad we know there was a market in that city where Chinese goods were exposed for sale.⁷ With the caravans that made their painful way to China went

¹ Quoted by Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, ii, p. 214.

² Cf. Le Strange's valuable *Bagdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 207. Cf. p. 202.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 82-3, 208-9 ff.

⁴ *Voyage*, pp. 315, 317, ed. De Backer.

⁵ Cf. Browne, *A Literary Hist. of Persia*, vol. i, pp. 232-3, 343, and Muir, *The Caliphate*, pp. 521-2.

⁶ Sykes, *Hist. of Persia*, i, 447.

⁷ Le Strange, p. 197.

Christian teachers, and the famous Si-ngan-fu inscription, erected there in 781, tells us that Nestorian teachers taught Christianity in China as early as 635.¹ The teachers, who from the seventh century onwards spread the faith eastwards, were mostly Nestorians. If we are to believe Michael, the Syrian, Chosroes II., on the murder of his friend the Emperor Maurice (602), made war not only on the Byzantine Empire but also on the supporters of the Council of Chalcedon, especially on the bishops. Hence "the memory of the Chalcedonians disappeared from the Euphrates to the East".² In China, indeed, the Christians suffered so severely in the revolution of 877-8,³ that by 938 it was said to have completely decayed there.⁴ Still, about that very time (c. 940) an Arab traveller, Abu Dulaf Inis'ar, encountered Christians in various places between Bokhara and China,⁵ and the thirteenth and fourteenth century friar travellers and Marco Polo found Nestorians here and there all across Asia and in China.

At the time of the greatest extension of the Nestorian Church in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries previous to the devastations of Timur the Tartar, it is *said* to have had a hierarchy of some 250 bishops scattered over Mesopotamia, Persia, Khorasan (south-east of the Caspian Sea), Turkestan (north-west of Tibet), the Merv oasis, the island of Socotra (off Cape Gardafui at the entrance of the Gulf of Aden), Malabar (the west coast of the Madras presidency), Tartary, and China. They were immediately subject to some twenty-five metropolitans, and they in turn to the Catholicus of

¹ See Pauthier, *L'inscription de Si-ngan-fou*, with facsimile, Paris, 1858, and *infra* under Nicholas IV.

² *Chron.*, ii, pp. 380-1; Agapius, *Hist.*, p. (199).

³ Beazley, *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, i, 418, and *infra*.

⁴ Le Strange, *l.c.*, p. 213.

⁵ Ap. Ferrand, *Relations de Voyages*, pp. 213, 218, Paris, 1913.

Seleucia-Ctesiphon, or of Baghdad or wherever else he placed his see.¹

If ever the Nestorian Catholicus had such a hierarchy under him, he would have had some grounds for conceiving a high opinion of his position. In any case, one at least of the Catholici had the very highest opinion of it. Timothy I. († 823), who appears to have constituted the first metropolitan for China,² put forth a claim to the first place among the *five* patriarchs in the Universal Church, on the ground that our Lord came from the East. "For if the first and chief place is assigned to Rome on account of the Apostle Peter, with how much more justice should it be assigned to Seleucia-Ctesiphon on account of the Lord of Peter."³

It is true that by the thirteenth century the Nestorians, especially in the Far East, were for the most part in a degraded state, for their centre in Persia had gone to ruin. Persecution and internal corruption had done their work. Even before the capture of Baghdad and the destruction of the Abbassid Caliphate by the Mongols in 1258, we read that many of the Nestorian monasteries had fallen to ruin.⁴

Like every other eastern civilized community, the Nestorians everywhere suffered from the ravages of

¹ Cf. Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. iii, pp. 20-4, with map; Fortescue, *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, pp. 97, 108.

² Cf. H. Labourt, *De Timotheo I.*, pp. 45-8, Paris, 1904. The Catholicus, Theodosius (852-8), accordingly speaks of the Metropolitan of China. Cf. Assemani, *Bib. Orient.*, iii, pt. ii, p. 439.

³ "Si enim Romæ propter Petrum Ap. ordo primus et principalis servatur, quanto magis ergo Seleuciæ et Ctesiphonti propter Dominum Petri." Ep. 26 Timoth., p. 101, ap. SS. *Syri* (S. ii), t. 67, *Pat. Orient.*, ed. O. Braum, 1915, Rome. Fantastically, he argues that as there are five books of Moses and five of the *Apostles* (?), Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, and Paul, so there ought to be five patriarchal sees!

⁴ Le Strange, pp. 203, 211 ff.

Zinghis Khan and his terrible Mongols.¹ But after Hulagu had taken Baghdad (1258), putting an end to the Abbassid Caliphate, and his successors had founded a Mongol Dynasty in Persia which was practically always independent of the Khakhan or Great Khan of the Mongols (1265-1337), the Christians in Persia had peace. Hulagu favoured them, and they everywhere helped him.²

The Ilkhans seek Christian aid.

The independence of the Ilkhans brought them troubles. They found their match in the Moslem Mameluke dynasty of Egypt, and they accordingly looked about for allies. The negotiations entered into by the early Khakhans with the Christians of the West, were, as we have seen, a sham. Zinghis Khan and his immediate successors had no thought of an alliance with any western ruler. They were bent simply on subduing them. But, with the Ilkhans of Persia, it was different, and the first of them, Abaga (1265-82), opened bona fide negotiations with the West. He had a Christian step-mother, and he was the husband of a Christian wife.³ He is even said to have been baptized.⁴ In 1260 the Mameluke Sultan, Beibars, had checked the great rush of the Mongols at the decisive battle of Ain-Jalut. Impressed with the power of Egypt,⁵ Abaga sought an alliance with the West, and his ambassadors appeared

¹ Cf. Bar-Hebræus, *Chron.*, iii, p. 406.

² Cf. *Hist. de la Siounie*, c. 66, p. 227, trad. Brosset, St. Petersburg, 1866. It was written in 1297, by Bishop Stephannos Orbélian. Cf. Bar-Hebræus, *Chron. Syriacum*, i, pp. 567, 584, ed. Bruns and Kirsch; and Makrizi, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, vol. i, p. 98, Paris, 1837.

³ Maria, a natural daughter of Michael Palæologus. His step-mother, Dokuz-Khatun, was the granddaughter of Ung Khan, the original Prester John.

⁴ But, says the well-informed Venetian, M. Sanudo, "baptizari . . . renuit, et coluit idola." *Secreta fidel.*, ap. Bongars, *Gesta*, ii, 238.

⁵ All this is well brought out by Bro. Fidentius of Padua in his *Liber recuperationis Terre Sancte*, c. 85, ap. Golubovich, *Biblioteca Francese*, ii, p. 57. The book was written to the order of Gregory X.

before Pope Clement IV. (1265-8). They brought with them a letter written, not as before in Latin, but in Mongol. He may have wished to make the Pope realize that the communication was genuine. As his previous communications had been in Latin, the papal curia could deal with them directly. But as it was, as Clement explained in writing to the "Elchan Apacha", no one in the Pope's court could read the letter, and so its contents had to be explained by the Tartar envoy. Clement gathered from the interpreter, as we learn from his letter to the Ilkhan from which alone we know of these details, that Abaga was a Christian. Consequently, he congratulated him on that fact, and then proceeded to deal with the subject of the letter. He told the Mongol ruler that a great host of Christians was preparing to conquer the Holy Land, and that, as the Khan had expressed his intention of helping the Latins, he assured him that he would let him know their precise plans as soon as the Christian leaders had formed them, and had communicated them to him.¹

Whether or not on the advice of the Pope, the Tartar embassy visited the warlike James I. of Aragon, who was only prevented by a storm from joining forces with the Khan.²

James of
Aragon,
1267-9.

¹ Ep. Aug. 13-16, 1267, ap. Martène, *Thes. nov.*, ii, n. 520, p. 517, or Raynaldus, an. 1267, n. 70. Cf. Sanudo, *Hist. Hierosol.*, i, iii, pt. 13, c. 8. The letter received by Clement will have been like those recently found in the Vatican library from Arghun. See p. 42.

² See his *Chronicle*, pp. 433-56, ed. Gayangos; Makrizi, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, vol. i, pt. ii, pp. 77, 101, and vol. ii, pt. ii, pp. 128-9, and Nowāiri, *Vie de Bibars*, f. 82 r., cited *ib.* by Quatremère. Cf. Swift, *James of Aragon*, pp. 116-19, and, on all this subject, the well-known essay of A. Rémusat, "Les relations des Princes Chrétiens avec les Mongols," ap. *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. vii, 1824, p. 335 ff. This is the second memoir and deals with Persia; the first is in vol. vi, 1822, and deals with Zinghis Khan and the united Mongol Empire.

Another
embassy,
1274.

Encouraged by the bona fide effort made by the old warrior of Aragon, another Tartar embassy from Abaga appeared, as we have seen, at the Council of Lyons. Some of the Tartars received baptism, and our King Edward addressed a fairly hopeful letter "to the excellent and powerful lord, Abaga-Chaan, Prince of the nation of the Moals (Mogalorum)", in which he said that, as soon as the Pope had fixed the date for the expedition to the Holy Land, which he hoped would be soon, he would at once inform the Khan.¹

The
Vassalli,
1276.

To convince the Princes how much he was in earnest the ruler of Persia sent another embassy to Europe. This time its chiefs were two Georgian Christians, John and James Vassalli. They presented themselves before Pope John XXI. at Viterbo (Nov., 1276), and explained to him the wish of their master for an alliance with the Christians. Thence they wrote to various Christian princes telling them how well they had been received by the Pope and Charles of Anjou, and telling them that they hoped to visit them soon.² The envoys, however, were robbed by one of their servants,³ and could get nothing but vague promises, although they visited several of the European princes.⁴ In any case, Pope John did not live long enough to help them. But they fared better at the hands of the great Pope Nicholas III. He sent off to Abaga, at a cost of about a thousand pounds

¹ Ep. Jan. 26, 1275, ap. Rymer, ii, p. 43.

² Cf. their letter to King Edward. They called themselves "messages dou puissant Abaga, roi des Tatars". They told Edw. that besides letters for the Pope, they had letters for him. There appears to have been a Nestorian in their suite. Cf. their interesting letter to Edward, n. 3 among "Lettres inédits concernant les Croisades", by Kohler and Langlois, p. 56, ap. *Bib. de l'école des Chartes*, 1891.

³ M. Riccio, *Il regno di Carlo I.*, an. 1277, p. 7.

⁴ Will. of Nangis, an. 1277, and *Chron. S. Denis*, t. v, p. 55, ed. G. Paris. They even went to Eric of Norway. Cf. the *Annals of Iceland*, an. 1286, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxix, p. 264.

(Turonenses),¹ brother Gerard of Prato, and five or six other Franciscans who had been selected by his predecessor. With Gerard our gossiping chronicler, Salimbene, had lived when they were young men together in the friary at Pisa, and with him he talked much about his mission on his return.² The missionaries were bearers of letters from Nicholas not only "to the excellent and magnificent Prince, illustrious King of the Eastern Tartars,"³ but also to Kublai, whom the Pope calls "Quobley, Great Khan, Emperor and Governor (moderator) of all the Tartars".⁴ Abaga was praised for his goodwill towards the Christians in his dominions, and for his promise to help the Crusaders when they reached Palestine; and he was asked to send on the envoys in due course to his uncle Kublai, who *is said* to have been baptized, and had expressed a desire to have missionaries to instruct his people in the Christian faith. With regard to the military expedition, the Pope said he would make all arrangements when the proper time came.

Though, in his letter to Kublai, Nicholas told him that he was sending to him Gerard of Prato and others, it does not appear that they ever made their way to China.⁵ Abaga had meanwhile suffered another great defeat at Abulustayn at the hands of the Mamelukes (1277), and was to suffer another at Hims (1281). These military disasters, civil wars, and heavy drinking did not leave Abaga much time to treat with the Franciscans. He died of delirium tremens in 1282.⁶ His successor, who had been baptized

Deaths of
Abaga and
his son
Ahmad,
1282-4.

¹ Cf. *Reg. Nich. IV.*, n. 7244, ed. Langlois.

² *Chron.*, p. 210.

³ *Reg.*, n. 232, March 31, 1278.

⁴ *Ib.*, n. 233, Apr. 4, 1278.

⁵ The missionaries themselves were furnished with letters of recommendation to various Princes, and with special faculties to simplify their work. *Ib.*, nn. 234-8.

⁶ Sykes, *A Hist. of Persia*, ii, pp. 102-3. Browne, *Persian Literature*, iii, p. 24. Still we know from an interesting letter to Edward I. from

Arghun's
first
embassy to
the West,
1285.

with the name of Nicholas, no doubt in the Pope's honour, apostatized and became a Moslem. He at once began to persecute the Christians, and several Franciscans received the crown of martyrdom during his brief reign (1282-4).¹ Ahmad Takúdar (or Nikúdar), as he called himself, was succeeded by his nephew Arghun, who straightway reopened negotiations with the Popes and the West, and with the Christian kings of Armenia and Georgia, and began to rebuild the churches destroyed by the Apostate.² Of all the Mongol rulers of Persia, he seems the most familiar to us, as facsimiles of his letters have recently been found in the Vatican library.³ On May 18, 1285, he addressed a letter to his holy father "the lord Pope" which has come down to us in an almost unintelligible Latin translation.⁴ The Ilkhan began by pointing out the goodwill which the Mongols had always shown towards the Pope and the King of the Franks from the days of Zinghis Khan himself, and by emphasizing the fact that they had exempted the Christians in their

Nicole le Lorgne, Grand-master of the Hospitallers, that "la paenisme (Islam) est mot affeblie par ceste venue des Tartas". Nicole wrote to our King "porce que vos estes le prince de crestienté qui plus aves a cuer le fait de la terre sainte". Ep. of March 5, 1282, ap. *Bib. de l'école des Chartes*, 1891, p. 59 ff.

¹ Orbélian, *H. de la Siounie*, c. 66, p. 238; Makrizi, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, vol. ii, pt. i, p. 57, ed. Quatremère. Cf. Mariano, *Compendium Chronicarum*, pp. 49-50. Mariano's († 1523) chronicle was printed for the first time at Quaracchi in 1911. Cf. Haiton or Hetoun, *Fleur des Hists.*, p. 196, ed. de Backer.

² Haiton, *ib.*, p. 198; *Mem. Potest. Reg.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, viii, p. 1158; Orbélian, p. 238.

³ Cf. P. Pelliot, *Les Mongols et la Papauté*, ap. *Revue de l'Orient Chrét.*, nn. 1 and 2, 1922-3, p. 1 ff. Rémusat, *l.c.*, had already published a copy of his letter to Philip le Bel in 1289.

⁴ It has been printed by Raynaldus, *Annal.*, 1285, n. 79; *Reg.*, n. 489; Rémusat, *l.c.*, p. 426, etc. We shall follow Rémusat's interpretation of this letter (p. 356 ff.), as modified by Chabot in his *Hist. du patr. Mar Jabalaha III.*, p. 191 ff., Paris, 1895. His chief modification is the substitution of Syria for Egypt as the point of attack. Speaking generally, Chabot must now be followed instead of Rémusat.

dominions from the payment of tribute. His grandfather, Hulagu, had favoured the Christians, as had also his worthy father Abaga. When he had received the investiture of his kingdom from the Khakhan, he had decided to send envoys and presents to the Pope. A long interval had passed since the last embassy from Persia, but that was due to the fact that Ahmad had apostatized and become a Moslem. He proposed an attack on Syria, and asked for reliable information as to the place where the two armies could meet. "Between us we will annihilate the Saracens." As nothing more is known in connection with this tantalizing letter,¹ we may perhaps suppose that the envoys who brought it² arrived during the vacancy of the Holy See after the death of Honorius IV. (1287), and that, because it was dated 1285, it was inserted on a spare page at the end of the curial letters of his first year.

At any rate, it is certain that an embassy from Arghun did arrive in Rome (July, 1287) during the vacancy of the Holy See. Of this embassy we know much, as, among other documents, we possess the most interesting journal of its leader, Rabban Sauma.³ He was a Nestorian Uigur (Turk), born at Pekin, a great traveller, and a

Second
embassy of
Arghun,
1287-8.

¹ Prou in his *Introduc.* to his ed. of the *Reg.* of Hon. IV. has also given a trans. of this letter, p. lxix.

² Ise, the interpreter, Bogagoc, Mengilic, Thomas Banchurius, and Ougueto. The last two are supposed to be the Thomas de Anfusis and Uguetus of Nicholas IV., Apr. 2, 1288, in his letter to Arghun.

³ In the *Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III.* (Catholicus of the Nestorians, 1281-1317), translated from the Syriac of a Nestorian monk who wrote soon after the death of Jabalaha († 1317), by J. B. Chabot, Paris, 1895. This important biography greatly supplements the documents known to Rémusat. Bar-Hebræus, *Chron. Syriacum*, vol. i, p. 627, notes that Arghun often received Frankish envoys from the Roman Pope and other kings about an alliance against the Egyptians, and that he in turn sent "our master Barsuma the Uigur" (Iguræus) to the Pope with whom he made a treaty to attack and destroy Islam. (Ed. Bruns and Kirsch, Leipzig, 1789.)

friend of the Catholicus, Mar Jabalaha III., with whom, when he was the simple monk Marcos, he had made his pilgrimage from Pekin to Persia. In the papal letters, i.e., in the Register of Nicholas IV., this Rabban (monk) Bar Sauma generally appears as Bersauma.

The biographer of the Catholicus, in his naïve manner, assures us that Arghun "loved the Christians with his whole love", and wished to get possession of Palestine and Syria. But, said he, this I cannot do unless I get the help of the Christians. He accordingly asked the Catholicus to find him a suitable man whom he could send to the various kings of the West. Mar Jabalaha at once named the Rabban, Sauma. Furnished with letters and presents for the Pope from the Catholicus, and with letters and presents for the kings of the Greeks and the Franks from the Khan, the worthy monk set out on his arduous journey from Persia. There accompanied him "honourable men, among whom were priests and deacons".¹

Travelling by Constantinople and Naples, he reached Rome in July, 1287, when the Holy See was vacant. "After the death of my lord the Pope," says the charming narrative we are following, "twelve men administer the see who are called Kardinale."² Now at the beginning of the year 1287 there were fourteen cardinals. Godfrey of Alatri died June 11, 1287, and we know that four others died sometime during the course of the year. If then we suppose that they died after July, and that John Buccamatius had not returned from Germany,³ there would have been just twelve cardinals to meet Bar Sauma. The monk and his party had been told that, on entering the audience chamber, they would find an altar which they must venerate before saluting the cardinals. "This they did, and that pleased the

The
embassy
received by
the
Cardinals.

¹ *Hist. de Mar J.*, c. 7.

² *Ib.*, p. 62.

³ *Ib.*, p. 83.

cardinals." None of them, we are told, rose when the envoys entered, "for it was not the custom of these twelve, on account of the dignity of this See."¹ In answer to a series of questions by different cardinals, Bar Sauma explained that they were envoys of the Mongol Khan and the Catholicus, that they had first received their Christianity from the Apostle Thomas, that there were many Christians among the Mongols,² and that their sovereign had sent them to get the help of the West to enable him to take Jerusalem. Asked about their faith, they professed regarding the Incarnation what was sheer Nestorianism,³ but the cardinals do not appear to have observed this, and concentrated their queries on the Procession of the Holy Ghost. The envoys expressed the Greek view ; but, when pressed, said they had come not to dispute about articles of faith, but to venerate the lord Pope and the relics of the Saints, and to set forth the wishes of their master.

The cardinals, accordingly, bade "the governor of the city" show them the holy places.⁴ Then, as the cardinals said they could not give them a definite answer before the election of the Pope, the envoys went off, crossed the Alps, and interviewed Philip le Bel in Paris, and King Edward in Gascony.⁵ Both kings received the envoys favourably, especially our own, who told them that he had taken the Cross, that his heart was set on a

Bar Sauma
visits Philip
le Bel and
Edward I.

¹ *Ib.*, p. 63.

² *Cf.* Bar-Hebræus, *Chron. Syriacum*, vol. i, p. 575.

³ *Ib.*, p. 65.

⁴ Our narrative has interesting things to say about them, p. 68 f.

⁵ Ed. was in Gascony from the close of 1286 to June, 1289. He did not get back to England till Aug. 12. *Cf.* Gough, *Itinerary of Ed. I.*, vol. ii, p. 27 ff. The continuator of Florence of Worcester, ad an. 1287, tells us that Ed. received a solemn embassy from the Khan of the Tartars while he was in Gascony, and that the object of the embassy was to renew the alliance between the two rulers. F. of W., ed. *Eng. Hist. Soc.*

Crusade, and that he was delighted to find that Arghun's ideas on this matter were the same as his.

Sauma
meets
Cardinal J.
Buccamatius

The Rabban, whose personality seems to have charmed everyone, was back in Genoa about December and there passed the winter.¹ There, too, on his way back from Germany to Rome, Sauma met the cardinal of Tusculum (Frascati), whom he styles "the periodeutes (visiting priest, *περιοδευτής*) of the lord Pope". To him he complained that whilst those whose hearts were harder than rocks (the Saracens) wished to hold Jerusalem, those to whom it belonged troubled not themselves about it.² Promising to make known his position to the new Pope, and meanwhile to try to forward his election, the cardinal hurried on to Rome. He fulfilled his promises, and immediately after the election of Nicholas IV. (Feb. 22, 1288), Sauma was summoned to Rome.³

Sauma back
in Rome,
1288.

The new Pope, who knew not a little of the East from his visit to Constantinople, received the Mongol envoy most kindly. He not only gave him permission to say Mass, but on Palm Sunday himself gave Communion to the Rabban.⁴ With amazement the good monk saw "thousands and thousands of people" receive branches of olive from the Pope, who then, in vestments of purple embroidered with gold, precious stones, and pearls, preached to the people. One would gladly quote the whole of the Rabban's simple description of the ceremonies of Holy Week as he saw them performed by the Pope, but we must be content to add that he estimated the numbers of those who dined with the Pope on Holy Thursday at two thousand, and several times records the Pope's preaching to the people.

Sauma
returns to
Persia with
letters, etc.,
Apr., 1288.

On his first arrival, the Rabban had presented to the Pope the letters and presents from Arghun and from the

¹ The narrative, p. 83.

² *Ib.*, p. 84.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 86 f. Evidently the Pope knew nothing of the Nestorianism of Sauma.

Catholicus.¹ After Low Sunday he asked the Pope's permission to return to Persia. This was granted, and Nicholas in turn gave the envoy letters and presents for the Khan and for Mar Jabalaha. To the Catholicus he sent his own tiara, sacred vestments in precious materials, including even the liturgical buskins adorned with seed pearls, and the ring from his finger. Then for the expenses of his journey he gave the Rabban fifteen hundred gold pieces.² Further, according to the Rabban, Nicholas gave him for Mar Jabalaha a patent letter granting him patriarchal authority over all the Orientals.³ But in the Register of Nicholas there is no such letter. It may be that that particular letter was not registered, or it may be that the monk misunderstood the extant letter to the Catholicus, or even possibly, though we trust and believe not probably, it may be an invention of the Rabban, on the lines of previous Nestorian fabrications, setting forth that the Catholicus had received his power from "the Western fathers".

Unfortunately the letters of Arghun and the Catholicus to the Pope are not forthcoming, and so we are left to conjecture their purport from the replies of Nicholas.

To judge from the Pope's answer to Mar Jabalaha, and from his admitting his envoy to communion, it would appear that both of them had declared that, if their faith was not that of the Pope, it was due to the fact that, owing to the distance of their country from Rome, they did not know the faith of the Pope, but that they acknowledged his faith to be the true one.⁴

¹ *Ib.*, p. 85.

² P. 92. The monk was also given a number of relics, just because he had come from such distant lands.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ Nicholas notes that the Catholicus and his people "a Romana ecclesia . . . longo maris terræque spatio sunt remoti". Ep. Apr. 7, 1288, ap. Chabot, *Hist. de M. J.*, p. 195 ff. Chabot at the end of his ed. of the story of Mar J. gives a very valuable Appendix completing Rémusat's essay on the Popes and the Mongol rulers of Persia.

Letter of
Nicholas to
the
Catholicus.

(Submission
to Rome of
Mar
Jabalaha.)

This conjecture is confirmed by the orthodox profession of faith and act of submission to the Roman Church which, by the hands of the Dominican, brother James, the Catholicus sent to Pope Benedict XI. (May 18, 1304).¹ That Mar Jabalaha did make this act of submission, which, however, was only personal, is confirmed by the narrative of the Dominican missionary, Ricold of Monte-Croce. He visited Baghdad during the reign of Arghun (1290),² and says that the Patriarch (at that time Mar Jabalaha) declared he was not a Nestorian. Although brother Ricold believed that the Catholicus was not speaking the truth, his assertion greatly shocked his fellow bishops, who, nevertheless, after discussion, told the Dominican that they believed his doctrine was the true one, but that they themselves dared not profess it.³ Besides, as early as 1255, some Nestorians had told William of Rubruck that they believed "that the Roman Church was the head of all the Churches, and that they would receive their patriarch from the Pope, if the roads were open".⁴

Nicholas began his letter to the Catholicus by thanking him for his kindness to the Franciscan missionaries in his country, and then informed him that, as his people were, on the one hand, far away from Rome, and, on the other, were, as he had been assured, desirous of professing "the pure faith which the Roman Church held and preserved", he sent him a profession of faith. In conclusion, he begged the Catholicus to instruct his people in accordance with that formula. Seeing that the

¹ It is given in full, *ib.*, p. 249 ff.

² *Ib.*, pp. 85 and 258.

³ *Ib.*, p. 85 f., where the original text (ed. Laurent, pp. 130-1) is quoted. We cite here the old French version (ed. de Backer, pp. 322-4) : "Nous savons . . . que la vérité de la foy est tout ainsi comme vous le preschiés, mes pour certain nous ne l'oseriemes point publiquement ne appertement dire à nous aultres nestorius."

⁴ *The Journey of W. of R.*, p. 213, ed. Rockhill, Hakluyt Soc., 1900.

profession of faith which Nicholas forwarded to the Catholicus was the same as that forwarded by Clement IV. to Michael Palæologus, he evidently supposed that the Christians of Persia had the same faith as the Byzantines. Nothing is said in it about Nestorianism.

The other letters entrusted to Bar Sauma by Nicholas were just as little political as that to the Catholicus. In two letters addressed (Apr. 2, 1288) to Arghun, after explaining to him the doctrine of the Incarnation, and the position of the Pope in the Church, he exhorted him to get baptized at once, and not wait till he had captured Jerusalem. Indeed, his baptism would, by God's help, forward the liberation of the Holy City.¹

From the journal of the Rabban it would appear that he must have carried back either other letters from the Pope or at least verbal messages, for it is there stated that "the lord Pope and all the Kings of the Franks" received the Ilkhan's propositions most favourably.² But, although Arghun showed his gratitude to the aged monk for the fatigues which he had undergone in his service by erecting for him at the entrance of his residence a chapel to contain the ornaments given him by the Pope,³ he was not satisfied with the result of the embassy.

¹ These letters are quoted in full, ap. Chabot, *ib.*, p. 200 ff., and also one to Bar Sauma with a profession of faith, one to a member of the embassy named Sabadin *Archaon* (i.e., in Mongol, the Christian), one "to the interpreters of the king of the Tartars", one to the Franciscans "among the Tartars", one to the Mongol princess Tuctan or Nukdan-Khatun, and to a bishop Dionysius of Tauriz. See also Wadding, *Annales*, v, p. 170 ff., and Mosheim, *Hist. Tartar. eccles.*, p. 86 ff.

² P. 93.

³ It would have been a tent of felt close to the great tent of the Ilkhan. *Ib.*, pp. 93-4. Cf. *Hist. de la Siounie*, by Stephen Orbélian, who was consecrated bishop of that province in 1285, and who tells us that "the chapel" had been given by "the great Pope of Rome". Trad. Brosset, p. 265, St. Petersburg, 1866. The bishop, writing in 1297, says that he went "to the master of the world" . . . "He

He wanted something more definite than the vague promises which he had received, and so dispatched a third embassy to Europe. This time he put a Western at the head of his mission, a Genoese whom Pope Nicholas calls "Biscarellus de Gisulfo, a citizen of Genoa".¹

Third
embassy of
Arghun,
1289-90.

Leaving Persia in the second half of April, 1289, Buscarel reached Rome in the autumn of the same year, passing, but not meeting, an embassy of Franciscans, headed by the famous John of Monte Corvino, which Nicholas had dispatched to Arghun and the East. The mission of Buscarel was distinctly political. It was to assure the Pope that, in accordance with his desire, the Persian monarch was ready to join the Crusaders in their attempt to free the Holy Land, and to make known to the kings of the West his plan of campaign. Nicholas at once sent the envoy on to Edward, and exhorted our King to pay special attention to what he had to say.² On his way to England, Buscarel delivered from his master to Philip of France the very letter which is still to be seen in the national archives of France.³ This letter is one of the most remarkable documents in existence. It is written on a cotton roll about six and a half feet long by some ten inches wide, in the Mongol language, and in Uigur characters, and bears on it in red ink a seal, thrice impressed, some five and a half inches square in Chinese characters.⁴ "By the power of the eternal God," opens

ordered us to remain to bless in his palace a chapel which the great Pope of Rome had sent him."

¹ Ep. Sept. 30, 1289, ap. Rymer, ii, p. 429. In the letter which Arghun sent to Philip the Fair, of which the original is preserved in Paris, the envoy's name appears as Mouskril. *Ib.*, pp. 212 and 226.

² Ep. just cited.

³ J. 937.

⁴ In connection with these seals we may note that William of Rubruck in his *Voyage*, c. 39, says that in a single figure each composite letter expresses a word. The letter is beautifully reproduced in Prince Roland Bonaparte's *Documents de l'époque Mongole*, Paris, 1895, plate xiv, n. 1; cf. also a reproduction at the end of Rémusat's essay.

the letter. Then, stating that he acted under the auspices of the Khakhan and that he had by Mar Bar Sauma received the message of the King, Arghun proceeded to unfold his plan of campaign. It was to attack Damascus in the February of the year 1290, and he undertook, if the King kept his word and sent troops, and if they took Jerusalem, to hand it over to him. The letter concluded with a request for envoys who spoke various languages, and for presents. "Our letter is written on the sixth day of the first month of the summer of the year of the ox (April-May, 1289)." ¹ This letter was accompanied by diplomatic instructions in old French. If the King of France were to come in person, Arghun would bring with him two Christian Kings of Georgia, would supply the horses and provisions, etc. ²

What result Buscarel had with Philip the Fair is not known; but we know something of his reception by King Edward. He arrived in London on Jan. 5, 1290, ³ and appeared before the King and Parliament (Jan. 30). ⁴ On behalf of the Ilkhan, Buscarel promised that the Mongols would attack "the pagans" in the Holy Land, if the King of England would co-operate in person. This Edward promised to do in two and a half years, i.e., on the feast of St. John the Baptist (June 24), 1292 ⁵; and, as he said in his extant letter to Arghun, he would inform him of the exact date of his coming as soon as

¹ Ap. Chabot, *l.c.*, p. 221 ff.

² *Ib.*, p. 229.

³ Cf. T. H. Turner, "Unpublished Notices of the time of Edward I." in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. iii, 1851, p. 45 ff.

⁴ Cf. *Annals of Worcester*, ap. *Annal. Monast.*, iv, p. 499, R. S. This fact has escaped the notice of Chabot. The *Annals* state that the King held a parliament in London "after Christmas" (this we know was held on Jan. 30), and that Tartar envoys presented themselves at it.

⁵ As a consequence, the Pope gave him the tenth not only of the three years already collected, but of the three years to be collected. *Ib.*

he could obtain the consent "of our most holy father in Christ, the supreme pontiff of the Holy Roman Church".¹ It was not the consent of Nicholas that proved to be wanting; but it was Edward's ambition that took him to Scotland instead of to the Holy Land. However, at this time, Edward was in earnest about undertaking an expedition to the Holy Land; and in the course of this year (1290) he dispatched to Acre with large sums of money one of his advisers, Otho de Grandison, "to prepare the way before his face".² Edward believed, too, in the importance of the Tartar alliance, because when he was in Palestine, he had himself contrived to secure Tartar assistance against the Moslem.³

Baptism of
Arghun's son
and dispatch
of
missioners
by the Pope.

Meanwhile Arghun had caused his third son, Kharbenda, who afterwards became the Ilkhan, Oljaïtu, to be baptized under the name of Nicholas (Aug., 1289).⁴ Meanwhile, too, a little earlier, Pope Nicholas had dispatched to Arghun,⁵ to other civil and ecclesiastical potentates in the East, and to the Khakhan himself,⁶ a number of Franciscans who had already had many years' experience of missionary work in the East. The head of this important mission was the famous John of Monte Corvino of whom we shall speak at length in connection with the work of Nicholas for the spread of

¹ See his letter in Chabot, *l.c.*, pp. 234-5, taken from Turner, who printed it from the Tower records: *Close Rolls*, 18 *Edw. I.*, m. 6 dorso.

² Walter of Hemingburgh, *Chron.*, vol. ii, p. 24. "Habuit enim in proposito rex in terram sanctam proficisci." To save the money, Otho fled to Cyprus during the last siege of Acre, and gave occasion for the Chronicler to sneer at him. Despite his name, he made but a "little sound" amid the clash of arms.

³ Cf. Marino Sanudo, *Secreta fidel.*, ap. Bongars, ii, p. 224.

⁴ *Hist. of M. Jab.*, p. 95. Cf. Stephen Orbélian, *Hist. de la Siounie*, trad. Brosset, p. 265, who says the baptism was given by a bishop sent from Rome.

⁵ Ep. of July 15, 1289, ap. *Reg. Nich. IV.*, n. 2240.

⁶ Kublai whom he calls Cobla. See his letters, *ib.*, nn. 2218-44.

Christianity in China. Meanwhile we will but note that in his letter to Arghun (July 15, 1289) the Pope thanked him for the goodwill, which, according to the report of Friar John, he entertained towards the Church of Rome and the other Christian Churches, and for the kindness which he had already displayed towards John himself and his companions. Again, as he observed he had already done before through "Roban Barsamma, bishop in the Eastern parts", he earnestly exhorted the Mongol monarch not to put off his baptism, or the acceptance of the true faith which is the light of our lives.¹

Among the many letters carried by Friar John, was another to the Catholicus Mar Jabalaha "to whom" the Pope said that it was reported "that a great multitude of people was subject". Nicholas exhorted him without further delay to hearken to the Vicar of Christ, and embrace "that faith which the Roman Church holds and preserves intact".²

Encouraged no doubt by the more or less definite promise of co-operation which he had received from King Edward, but much alarmed by the warlike activities of the cruel Mameluke Sultan, Khalil (1290-3), Arghun, immediately on the return of Buscarel,³ dispatched another more important embassy to the Pope and to the kings of the Franks.⁴

The head of the mission was a Mongol of position named Chagan or Zagan, who with his nephew was baptized on his arrival at the papal court. He was accompanied by Buscarel. Nicholas immediately hurried the envoys

¹ Ep. ap. Chabot, p. 214 f., or ap. Wadding or Mosheim as before.

² Ep. ap. *ib.*, p. 218 f. "Suademus, quatenus ad observandam fidem Catholicam quam tenet et servat romana ecclesia inconcusse, ac etiam ad ipsius ecclesie unionem sublato cujuslibet tarditatis obstaculo . . . promptus advenias."

³ It is calculated that at this period the journey between Persia and France took about four months.

⁴ Though only our King's name is mentioned.

Fourth
embassy of
Arghun,
1290-1.

on to Edward, and begged him to take earnest note of the propositions which they were to put before him, and to transact business with them as quickly as possible. At the same time he informed Edward that, on his own account, he proposed to send a special envoy to the Ilkhan with his returning embassy.¹

The fall of
Acre, 1291.

Unfortunately we do not know exactly how the Mongols fared when they left the Pope,² nor do we even know when they returned to Persia. But, in the first half of the year following their arrival, an event happened which was naturally calculated to help their cause. On May 18, 1291, Acre, the last important stronghold held by the Christians in Palestine, fell into the hands of the Mameluke Sultan, Khalil-Aseraf. Knowing that the Mongols were making every effort to effect an alliance with "the Franks",³ and realizing that such an alliance would be their ruin, the Mameluke sultans strove with the greatest energy to make the alliance impossible. They threw themselves on the Christian remnant in Palestine, and wiped it out of existence. News of this disaster roused the greatest grief, say our old chroniclers, in all who were zealous for the Christian name—a grief more distressing "than the lamentations of Jeremias the prophet". He only bewailed the fall of Jerusalem, a refuge but for proselytes and Jews. But Acre was a bulwark for all who professed the faith of Christ, and went to Palestine to avenge the injuries inflicted on their Redeemer, who

¹ Epp. of Dec. 2 and 31, 1290, to Edward, ap. Chabot, p. 236 f., or Rymer, ii, p. 498.

² From Everislen, who continued Florence of Worcester, it appears that the envoys at least met Edward, as he says that in 1291 envoys came from the great Khan to the Pope and to the Kings of France and England in connection with his accepting the Christian faith, and his granting help for the succour of the Holy Land.

³ Bro. Fidentius of Padua, in his treatise, *De recuperatione Terræ S.*, c. 85 (written c. 1266–91), shows why the Tartars of Persia wanted an alliance with the Franks. Ap. Golubovich, *Bib. Francesc.*, ii, p. 57.

had watered with his blood the land of promise which by hereditary right belonged to the sons who bore his name.¹

News of the fall of Acre seems to have reached the Pope about the beginning of August. From the very beginning of his short pontificate, he had urged the Christian princes to make an effort to save the remnant of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.² He had redoubled his efforts when the redoubtable Mameluke sovereign, Kilawun, proclaimed a Holy War against Acre (1289), and after Hospitallers and Templars had come to Europe to tell him of the terrible massacres that Kilawun had perpetrated, and to beg assistance.³ Not content with ordering a Crusade to be preached,⁴ the Pope had commissioned the Venetians to equip and dispatch twenty galleys at his expense to the East immediately,⁵ and he had implored Philip le Bel to undertake to guard the Holy Land till the general expedition could be got ready (Dec. 5, 1290).⁶ Then, on the receipt of King Edward's assurance that he would accept the date to be fixed by him for the departure of the Crusade, Nicholas had fixed it (March 16, 1291) for the feast of St. John the Baptist,

Nicholas
strives to
rouse
Christendom,
1291.

¹ *Flores Hist.*, iii, 74. Cf. *Les Grandes Chron. de France*, tom. v, p. 99, ed. Paris.

² Cf. e.g., Ep. Oct. 1, 1288, to the King of Cyprus, ap. Raynaldus, *Ann.*, 1288, n. 39. He points out what an irreparable loss it would be: "si, quod absit, Terræ memoratæ *particula*, quæ Christianis remansisse dignoscitur, occuparetur ab hostibus Crucifixi."

³ See the letter of Nicholas to King Edward (Aug. 13, 1289), ap. Rymer, ii, p. 428.

⁴ Sept. 1, 1289, Potth., nn. 23064, and Jan. 5, 1290, 23151-3.

⁵ Sept. 13, 1289, *ib.*, n. 23078. It would appear that the Venetians cheated the Pope in the matter of the armaments of the galleys. Cf. *ib.*, 23439. They were commanded by Jas. Tiepolo, the son of the Doge Lawrence Tiepolo. Cf. Amadi, *Chron.*, p. 218. Cf. p. 228, and the *Chronicle* of bro. Christopher of Cyprus (wrote c. 1496), ap. Golubovich, *Bib. dell' Oriente*, vol. ii, 205.

⁶ *Ib.*, n. 23484. Cf. nn. 23489, 23500.

1293.¹ He had, moreover, granted our King a variety of tithes, and in proclaiming the date of the proposed Crusade to the Christian world, he had told how King Edward, "thinking nothing of the sweetness of his native land, despising the riches of his realm, and shunning its delights and the glory of ruling there," had humbly accepted that date.²

King
Edward's
embassy to
Persia.

Of our King's zeal at this period in the cause of the Crusades, we have seen one indication in his sending Grandison to Acre "with his treasures". Some fragmentary exchequer documents in our national archives give us further proof of his earnestness in that matter. Impressed by the embassies of Arghun, he sent an important embassy of his own to the Ilkhan in reply to the Chagan-Buscarel embassy of 1290-1. It was headed by Sir Walter de Langele, and it is only from records of the expenses of the mission kept by his squire, Nicholas of Chartres, that we know anything about it.³ Sir Walter would seem to have been accompanied by Buscarel⁴ as guide, for we find the latter in company

¹ Rymer, ii, 505. Cf. a number of other letters of March 18 and 25, 1291, ap. *ib.*, pp. 509-23.

² *Ib.*, p. 513 ff. Cf. his letter of March 29, sadly announcing the fall of Tripoli, ap. Raynaldus, *Ann.*, 1291, n. 2, and that of Aug. 1, 1291, ap. *Bullar. Rom.*, iv, p. 111. As a sign of the goodwill entertained by Edward for the Pope, who was thus urging him to the dangers of a distant expedition, we find, from a letter of the Pope (*ib.*, pp. 521-2), that he had sent him a present of beautifully embroidered silk, etc., and an emerald ring. Nicholas tenders his thanks, "super capa, et doxali altaris, ac alio panno, sericis, plumarii operis multiplici varietate distinctis, etc."

³ Public Record Office. *Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt, Miscellanea*, n. 49. Cf. on these "bills", T. H. Turner, "Unpublished Notices of the Times of Edward I." in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. viii, 1851 ff., but especially, C. Desimoni, *I conti dell' ambasciata al Chan di Persia* (1292); it is an extract from *Atti Soc. Liguria St. Patria*, vol. xiii, fasc. iii.

⁴ On his family the Ghizolfi, see Desimoni, p. 554 f.

with the embassy making purchases for it.¹ The embassy, procuring supplies of furs, arms, medicines, etc., at Genoa and Brindisi, would appear to have left the former place in December, 1291, and to have taken some 111 days to reach Tabriz. They went by Constantinople and Trebizond. Unfortunately, our ambassador came in contact not with Arghun († March, 1291), but with his drunken and incompetent successor, Gaykhatu (or Kengiatsu). Hence, although we have absolutely no hint as to what passed between the Mongol and Sir Walter, we may be sure that nothing of any importance was arranged between them. Unfortunately, too, when the envoys reached Rome on their return journey (Dec. 24, 1292), the zealous Nicholas IV. was dead, and the Holy See was vacant. It was fated that the Mongol alliance should not mature.

Meanwhile, on August 1, Nicholas had issued another urgent appeal to Christendom to get ready for 1293, but there is no mention therein of the fall of Acre. News of its fall must have come soon after, and roused the Pope, if possible, to still greater efforts. Letters were sent everywhere to tell of the loss of Acre (Aug. 13). Often, said the Pope, had the East already inflicted terrible blows on the Church, but never before so severe a one as this. He told, too, of the efforts which the Holy See itself had made in the hope of securing the safety of the city, at least until the arrival of the general Crusade—of the galleys, men, and money which it had, all in vain, sent to Acre.²

Most eloquently did Nicholas call on all lovers of the Christian name to prepare with the greatest zeal for the general Crusade of 1293. The Genoese and other maritime

¹ *Ib.*, p. 550 ff.

² See the fragment of this encyclical in Walter of Heminburgh, *Chron.*, ii, 27 ff. It is practically the same as the one sent to the Genoese which is given in full in Raynaldus, *Ann.*, 1291 n., 23 ff.

powers were asked to prepare ships, to make peace with one another, not to trade, especially in arms, with the infidel, and to send to him experienced men to advise as to the best measures to be taken in the meanwhile.¹ The bishops, too, of the various countries were asked for their advice, especially as to the feasibility of uniting the Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic knights, as their discords had contributed to the loss of Acre.²

The response
of Nicholas
to the last
embassy of
Arghun,
1291.

In his concern for the Holy Land, Nicholas gave almost as much attention to the Mongol question, as to the proposed Crusade of 1293. If he could only convert the Mongols, or induce the European princes to ally themselves with them, the future hold of Christendom, or at least of Christianity, on the Holy Land was assured. Had the kings to whom he appealed been less selfish, there can be but little doubt that, with the Mongol alliance, the power of the Turk would have been held in check, endless misery and degradation saved to Europe, and Western civilization, kept free from the Turkish blight, would have advanced much more steadily.

To lead his new embassy to Arghun, Nicholas selected two Franciscans, William of Chieri and Matthew of Chieti, and furnished them with no fewer than thirty-one letters.³ The envoys left Italy towards the end of August, and from the letters of recommendation which they carried we can tell that they journeyed by Sicily, Constantinople, Trebizond, through Georgia to Tiflis, then through Armenia to Tauriz (Tabriz) and Maragha to the east of the great Lake Urmiah (Urmi), and finally

¹ See the letter to the Genoese just cited, Will. of Nangis, *Chron.*, ad an. 1291, p. 279. The French bishops said that the first thing to be done was to bring about peace, especially among the Greeks, Sicilians, and Aragonese.

² Eberhard Alt., *Chron.*, p. 540, ap. Böhmer, *Fontes*, ii.

³ Dated from Aug. 13 to 23, 1291. See these letters in Chabot, p. 238 ff.; in *Reg. Nich. IV.*, ii, nn. 6722-3, 6735, 6806-33.

turning west on the way back, to Mosul on the Tigris, to Cis, the capital of Lesser Armenia,¹ and no doubt to the port of Lajazzo (Laias, Ayas), the port of the Mediterranean trade for north Persia (Tabriz).

Nicholas appealed to the rulers of these various countries to facilitate the journey and forward the work of his envoys.² To these latter he gave faculties to choose their companions, and to exercise various ecclesiastical powers generally reserved to higher ecclesiastics.³ He also entrusted them with the task of drawing up a report for him on the state of all the religions among the Tartars.⁴ Various Western Christians occupying important posts under the Ilkhan were thanked for what they had done to propagate the faith, and urged to continue their good work.⁵

Then addressing himself to different members of Arghun's family, he congratulated his son Kharbenda (Nicholas) on his reception of the sacrament of baptism, and bade him live up to his faith, and spread it; but, for the sake of not giving needless offence to his people, not to change his style of dress, or mode of life generally.⁶ Kharbenda's brothers, Saro and Ghazan (afterwards Ilkhan), were earnestly exhorted to follow their brother's example,⁷ and two Tartar queens, who were already Christians, were asked to use their influence with the two princes in that direction.⁸

¹ Golubovich, *Biblioteca dell' Oriente Francesc.*, ii, pp. 473, 476. The letters in question in the text were addressed to Queen Constance of Sicily, the Byzantine emperor Andronicus II., John II., emperor of Trebizond, etc.

² Pott., n. 23776; *Reg.*, nn. 6809-14. All the letters in connection with this papal embassy are dated from Aug. 13 to Aug. 23, 1291.

³ *Reg.*, nn. 6806-7.

⁴ *Ib.*, n. 6808.

⁵ *Reg.*, nn. 6820-3. Raynaldus, *Ann.*, 1291, n. 33.

⁶ Ep. in full, ap. Chabot, p. 244.

⁷ *Ib.*, p. 246.

⁸ *Ib.*, p. 242.

To Arghun himself, Nicholas sent two letters. In the first he told him that he had received the letter which he had sent to him by his ambassador Chagan, and that, in accordance with his strongly expressed wishes, he had reported favourably on its contents to King Edward. In the rest of this letter, Nicholas does not say another word directly bearing on the political topics in the Ilkhan's letter. He simply urges him to get baptized, pointing out to him that thereby his fame and power would be increased.¹ But, in his second letter, he tells the Mongol how the fall of Acre had caused him to rouse the kings of the Catholic world, and that King Edward and other princes were making active preparations for the recovery of the Holy Land. He assured the Ilkhan that there was every reason to hope that, with his co-operation, their efforts would be crowned with success, and he again pressed him to be baptized.² Letters, exactly like this, were sent to the Kings of Armenia and Georgia, and to the Emperors of Constantinople and Trebizond.³

Death of
Arghun and
Nicholas.

Unfortunately, but little came of the strenuous efforts of the Pope and the Ilkhan. The latter was already dead (March 7, 1291) when Nicholas made these heroic exertions against Islam ; and he himself died within a few months after making them (Apr. 4, 1292). Fortunately he did not live long enough to see that the Crusade proclaimed for 1293 did not materialize. Throughout the whole of that year (1293), the Holy See was vacant, and King Edward, the great hope of Nicholas, was engaged in a quarrel with France. Before he died, however, the Pope made one more effort in behalf of the

¹ Ep. ap. Chabot, p. 238. "Tuque fama et viribus cresceres, laudando christianorum consortio copulatus."

² Ep. ap. *ib.*, p. 240. Many of these letters are given in full also by Wadding, *Annal.*, v, p. 255 ff., Raynaldus, and Mosheim.

³ See note to n. 6809 in the *Register*.

Christian East. Master of Palestine and Syria, Khalîl directed his forces against Armenia-Cilicia, and threatened Romcla,¹ the residence of the Armenian patriarch. Hayton II., King of Armenia, appealed for help to the Pope. Nicholas not only received his envoys kindly, and sent them on to the Kings of France and England, but he ordered the preachers of the general Crusade (1293) to exhort some intending Crusaders to proceed at once to help Armenia "placed in the very midst of perverse nations like a lamb among wolves". He offered them the same indulgences as were offered to those who should take part in the general Crusade, and he ordered the Grand Masters of the Templars and Hospitallers to proceed to the help of Armenia with the galleys of the Holy See.² Whether they were able to effect much or little, the kingdom of Armenia-Cilicia contrived to prolong its existence till 1375.³

After the death of Arghun, there succeeded in Persia Ghazan
Khan, 1295-
1304. four years of incompetent government and disorder under the Khans Gaykhatu and Baydu. But when law and order were restored under the firm rule of Ghazan, the grandson of Hulagu, negotiations were reopened with the West. Ghazan had obtained the throne by Moslem aid; but, it is said, wrongly perhaps, at the cost of apostasy. At any rate, at the beginning of his reign he persecuted Christians, Jews, and pagans alike.⁴ However,

¹ Or Hromgla, or Roumqualat, or Kalaat(castle)-Rûm. Khalîl took the place and slew its Mongol and Armenian garrison. It was the strongest fortress on the Euphrates, and was situated on an abrupt promontory at the extreme point of the great western bend of the river.

² *Reg.*, nn. 6850-6, Jan. 23, 1292.

³ See Tournebize, *Hist. de l'Arménie*, p. 220 ff., etc.

⁴ According to Prince Hetoun, *Fleurs des Hist.*, p. 199, ed. de Backer, Baydu was "a good Christian", and forbade the preaching of Islam. Bar-Hebræus, indeed, confirms Hetoun so far as to say that Baydu favoured the Christians in every way, but he adds that

when it came to the question of fighting the Mamelukes, Ghazan gave up persecution, and turned to the West for allies. In 1299 he gained a considerable victory over the Sultan En-Nâsir at Salamia to the north of Hims (Emessa).¹ Exaggerated stories of this victory and its results reached Europe, for it was only for a brief space that Palestine and Jerusalem fell into his hands. Dominicans and other religious are declared to have said Mass at the Holy Sepulchre. We are even assured that Ghazan sent two Friars Minor to the Pope to ask him to send out people to take possession of the occupied territory.² The report of the capture of Jerusalem caused the greatest joy, as it was said, even in well-informed circles, that Ghazan had undertaken, if he received help from the Christians, "to destroy the sect

he had not the courage to call himself a Christian, and, at length, even called himself a Moslem. *Chron. Syriacum*, vol. i, p. 642 f. Accordingly the Moslems offered the crown to Ghazan "se il vouloit renoncer à la foy crestienne. Casan qui petite cure avoit de la foy, etc," agreed. But, from the letters of Nicholas IV. quoted above, Ghazan's baptism had not then taken place, but, of course, it *might* have taken place after. For the persecution of the Christians, etc., see *Hist. de Jabalaha*, c. 11, p. 106, and M. Sanudo, *Secreta fidel.*, ap. Bongars, *Gesta Dei*, ii, p. 239.

¹ Cf. a letter of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, ap. *Annales Reg. Edw. I.*, p. 422 ff., *R. S.* The *Grandes Chroniques de France*, "Philippe-le-Bel," c. 29, say that Ghazan (or Khazan) or Cassahan, with a great many of his people, was converted to Christianity by his Armenian wife; and that, as a result of his victory, the Holy Land fell into his hands, and Mass was once more said in Jerusalem. "Et à Pasques ensuivant, si comme l'en dit, en Jérusalem le service de Dieu les crestiens avec exaltacion . . . célébrèrent." Cf. Makrizi, *Hist. des Mamlouks*, vol. ii, pt. ii, pp. 146, 153-4, 170.

² *Ann. Frisacenses*, p. 67, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiv; *Martin. Polon. Contin. Anglic.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiv, 258. The Chronicle goes on to say that the Pope sent the friars on to the Kings of France and England, and that on June 6 they reported themselves to Edward at Cambridge (1300). But at that period the King was at Pontefract (see H. Gough, *Itinerary of Edw.*, ii, p. 190), and was never at Cambridge in 1299 or any subsequent year.

of Mahomet" and "to restore the Holy Land to them".¹ But, whatever were his intentions in these respects, he had no opportunity of carrying them out. His success, however, duly made known to Pope Boniface VIII. by certain citizens of Genoa, "and by the report of brother Philip," stirred up his crusading zeal and also that of a number of Genoese ladies belonging to the best families in Genoa—to the Grimaldis, the Dorias, the Spinolas, etc. The Pope proclaimed a solemn "station" in thanksgiving for the victory,² and preached a crusade, but only succeeded in rousing John, Duke of Brittany.³ The Genoese ladies, however, proposed, to the great joy and admiration of Boniface, to fit out a fleet at their own expense, and to go themselves to the Holy Land to minister "to the warriors of the Crucified". But, though Boniface commissioned Porcettus Spinola, the administrator of the archdiocese of Genoa, to preach the Crusade, and to give the cross to such as were willing to go to the help of the Holy Land, the subsequent misfortunes of Ghazan, and the difficulties of Boniface would appear to have prevented anything coming of the heroism of the matrons of Genoa,⁴ or of the preparations of the Duke of Brittany.

¹ Hetoun, *l.c.*, cc. 43 and 44, avers that Ghazan said: "Nous donnerons ordre, en cas qu'ils (the Christians) join Cotulossa (one of his generals) les (the Holy Land) leur restituer, et de les aider à retablir les châteaux . . ." He intended "destruire absolument la secte de Mahomet, et de restituer de bonne foi la Terre Sainte aux Chrétiens." Ed. Bergeron.

² Cf. *Ann. Fris., l.c.*, and *Gesta Boemundi aep. Treverensis*, ap. *ib.*, p. 483. Cf. the Christian Copt, Moufazzal ibn Abil-Fazail, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, ap. *Bib. Orient.*, t. xiv, p. 667. He quotes an older historian to the effect that some of Ghazan's Tartars made a raid from Damascus (which Ghazan entered in Jan., 1300) against Jerusalem and Hebron. This passage gives us the truth of the Jerusalem occupation. M.'s own work was finished in 1358.

³ Cf. ep. of Sept. 28, 1300, ap. Raynaldus, *Ann.*, 1300, n. 33. Cf. n. 34.

⁴ "Attendentes quod Casanus, magnus Tartarorum imperator, . . . regnum Hierosolymitanum intraverat," *Reg. Bonif. VIII.*, n. 4384,

Negotiations
with the
West,
1300-2.

The victory of the Mongols in 1299 was not well followed up. Palestine was soon lost, and floods spoiled Ghazan's winter campaign in Syria in 1300-1. But, resolving on another campaign in 1303, he meanwhile again tried to secure Western help. To this he was induced not only by the example of his father, Arghun, but by offers of help which had been made to him by James II. of Aragon (1300).¹ His embassy, once more placed under the indefatigable Buscarel, left Persia in 1301²; and its chief presented himself before Boniface VIII. in Rome, no doubt about the end of that year. Then, as before, he went on to King Edward. But he came at a most unfortunate time. Boniface was in the midst of his quarrel with Philip the Fair, and Edward was preparing for another invasion of Scotland. Accordingly, on March 12, 1303, the latter sent a letter to Ghazan to say that, through Buscarel, he had received the Ilkhan's letters about the Holy Land, but that wars at home prevented him from doing anything in the matter at the moment. "When, however," he continued, "the Supreme Pontiff, with the help of Almighty God, shall have put us into such a position that we can attend to this affair, we would have you know that we will give all our attention to it, as we desire its success more than anything in the world."³

Death of
Ghazan,
1304.

One need not say that Buscarel had even less success with Philip, whom he visited in Paris in Easter week

Aug. 9, 1301. Cf. the other letters to these Genoese ladies and others, nn. 4380-6. Ed. Digard. See also the *Chronichetta di S. Andrea*, p. 29 f., ed. Carini, Rome, 1893.

¹ Rémusat, pp. 386-7.

² Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, i, n. 60, p. 85, gives a letter which, if correctly dated by him, would show that the Tartar envoys were already in Apulia on July 2, 1300, and were expected at the curia any day.

³ Ep. of March 12, 1303, ap. Rymer, ii, 918-19. He sent a similar letter to the "Patriarch of all the Christians of the Orient", i.e., to Mar Jabalaha. *Ib.*, p. 919.

(Apr. 7 ff., 1303).¹ Meanwhile his master's forces had been utterly defeated near Damascus (March, 1303), and the Ilkhan himself died of vexation about a year later (May 17, 1304).

He was succeeded by his brother, Kharbenda, who, though he had been baptized, had become a Mohammedan, and styled himself Oljaïtu Mohammed. Nevertheless he, too, sent an embassy to Europe to try to form an alliance against the Egyptians. Fortunately his original letter, on a cotton roll some ten feet long by ten inches wide, to Philip the Fair, is still extant in the Archives of France.² On the back of it is a contemporary Italian translation, for the letter is in Mongol in Uigur characters. To judge by the letters addressed to Oljaïtu by Pope Clement V. in 1308, and by Edward II. in 1307, it is clear that the letters sent to them were similar to the extant one addressed to Philip le Bel. From this last document we gather that the Ilkhan had sent two ambassadors, Mamlakh³ and Tuman, who appears as "Tomaso mio iulduci" in the Italian version, and as "Thomas Ilduci" ("sword-bearer" in Mongol) in the letter of Clement V.⁴ It would seem, too, that they were accompanied or followed by envoys from Leo IV., King

Embassy of
Oljaïtu,
1306-8.

¹ *Grandes Chron., l.c.*, n. 48, ed. P. Paris.

² See a facsimile of it in Prince R. Bonaparte's *Documents* (see *supra*, p. 50), and a "copie figurée" of it in Rémusat. It bears a seal in Chinese characters (five times impressed in red ink) signifying: "By a supreme decree, seal of the descendant of the Emperor, charged to reduce to obedience the ten thousand barbarians." Rémusat, *l.c.*, p. 392.

³ Mamalac in the Italian version, ap. Rémusat, 437. This version is dated 1306, which perhaps shows that the envoys did not leave Persia till then.

⁴ Ep. March 1, 1308, ap. Raynaldus, *Ann.*, 1308, n. 30. This Tomaso has been identified with Tomaso Ugi of Siena, who in a Venetian document signs himself "Alduci del Soldano". He, like Buscarel, belonged to the Sultan's bodyguard. Cf. Heyd-Raynaud, *Hist. du Commerce du Levant*, ii, 123 ff.

of Armenia-Cilicia. At any rate a letter of his to Edward I. dated March 28, 1307, is extant among the English *Royal Letters*,¹ in which he says he is sending "discreet men" to explain "our great necessity and need, and the very great danger in which we are".

The Ilkhan's letter is addressed not only to Philip, but also "to the other Sultans of the Franks". After the opening phrase, "the word of one Oljaïtu," the letter called attention to the alliances that had existed between the Mongols and the Franks during the times of his great-grandfather (Hulagu), his grandfather (Abaga), his father (Arghun), and his elder brother (Ghazan). Then, after declaring that it was the wish of Oljaïtu even to intensify those good relations, and that, after forty-five years of disunion, all the reigning descendants of Zinghis Khan are now again united, the letter asked for an alliance with the Sultans of the Franks.

What answer, if any, was returned to this letter by Philip is not known. On October 16, 1307, however, our King Edward II. sent a reply to the letters which he had received from the lord "Dolgieto" to the effect that the Tartar envoys had arrived after his father's death,² and that he hoped something might be done soon about the alliance, but that, at the moment, internal troubles prevented him from attending to it.³

The answer of Pope Clement V. was somewhat more satisfactory. He told "Olgetucani" with what pleasure he had learnt from his letters and his ambassadors of the large supplies of men and provisions with which he was prepared to come to the assistance of the Christians for the recovery of the Holy Land. He and his brethren would give the closest attention to the matter, and, as

¹ N. 3285, ap. *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes*, 1891, p. 61 f.

² Ed. I. † July 7, 1307.

³ Rymer, vol. iii, p. 15.

soon as an expedition was arranged, he would inform the Ilkhan.¹

Clement, indeed, did his best to rouse the West, but in vain. The golden opportunity was utterly lost.² Oljaïtu, tired of waiting for Western help which never came, attacked the Mamelukes in Syria in 1312 with his own forces, but met with no success. It is true, as we hope to relate in his biography, John XXII. tried to induce Abu-Said (1316-35), the son of Oljaïtu, to save Armenia-Cilicia.³ The power, however, of the Mongol Ilkhans of Persia had oozed out,⁴ and "with Abu-Said's death the dynasty of the Ilkhans of Persia . . . practically came to an end". A period of anarchy ensued which lasted till Persia was absorbed by another savage all-conquering Tartar, Timur the Lame (Tamerlane), † 1405.⁵

From the foregoing narrative one might hurriedly draw the conclusion that, during the rule of the descendants of Zinghis Khan in Persia, the only relations of the Pope and the religious Orders with it were political. But such was far from being the case. Although the Popes were constantly using the friars for political missions, they not only used the very same men for the preaching of the Gospel, but they also sent others to Persia merely for that purpose. Thus practically the whole life of the famous John of Monte Corvino was devoted to missionary enterprise, and the same is true

Missionary
work during
the Mongol
dynasty in
Persia.

¹ Ep. March 1, 1308. ap. Raynaldus, an. 1308, nn. 30-1.

² Marino Sanudo, in his valuable work on the way to recover the Holy Land, is always impressing on Clement the advisability of getting the help of the Tartars. Cf. *Secreta fidel.*, ap. Bongars, *Gesta*, ii, pp. 7, 36.

³ Cf. *ib.*, an. 1322, n. 41 ff. Ep. of July 5, 1322, etc.

⁴ A.-S. in 1323 signed a treaty with the Sultan of Egypt, and thus put an end to a war which had lasted over 60 years.

⁵ Browne, *Persian Literature*, iii, p. 58.

of many another Franciscan¹ and Dominican. Conversions,² and even martyrdoms were frequent.³ Most of the latter came from the hands of the ever intolerant Moslem, for the Mongols, as we have said before, favoured Christianity. All the later Franciscan authors especially assure us of that fact.⁴

Conversions were naturally followed by organization. Persia was included in the third Franciscan district (custodia) in Oriental Tartary.⁵ It formed the greater part of the Custodia of Tabriz, and we know that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there were at least nine important cities in which there were Franciscan houses.⁶ Pope John XXII., too, established (Apr. 1, 1318), a metropolitan see (with six suffragans) in the new capital of Sultanieh (Congorlaun, according to the Tartars) founded (1305-13) by Oljaïtu to the south-east of Lake Urmiah.⁷

But at this time the heroic work of the friars, and

¹ For records of Franciscan missions in Persia during the period in question, see Golubovich, *Biblioteca dell' Oriente Francese*, ii, 153-4, iii; pp. 59, 214, 218 ff., 350, 413 f.; Potthast, n. 22644, etc.

² Note, e.g., the conversion of a certain Dionysius (Nestorian) bishop of Tabriz. See ep. of Nicholas IV. of Apr. 7, 1288, ap. Chabot, *Hist. de Mar Jub.*, p. 205.

³ Cf. Golubovich, *ib.*, ii, pp. 62, 66; iii, 182; and vol. iv, p. 235, for the martyrdom of the English Franciscan, Will. Walden, in Salamastro in Persia (c. 1334).

⁴ Cf. John Elemosina, *Chron.*, p. 120, ap. Golubovich, *l.c.*, ii, p. 120. After speaking of their general toleration, he adds: "Sed precipue Christianis concesserunt ista." Cf. an anonymous German, *De gestis trium regum*, c. 65, ap. *ib.*, p. 153, writing about the same time, says: "Imperator Tartarorum . . . in omnibus regnis suis multum favet christianos; et fides christiana que ibidem (among the Nestorians) per infideles fuit oblita, nunc per Fratres Minores, Predicatores . . . et alios doctores de novo cepit florere."

⁵ Vicaria Tartariæ Orientalis: Custodia Thauris.

⁶ See map, etc., in Golubovich, *l.c.*, vol. ii, and pp. 72, 107, 146, 265-6, in the same vol.

⁷ Ep. of John, ap. Raynaldus, *Ann.*, 1318, nn. 4-7.

the generous co-operation of Lombard and other rich merchants was not destined to succeed.¹ Their work, which was somewhat arrested by the fact of the acceptance of Islam by the Ilkhan Ghazan and his successors, was finally ruined, along with the country itself, by the ravages of the Moslem Tamerlane.

II. CHINA.

At what precise period China first began to interest the West is difficult to say, but, both from Chinese and from Western sources, it is certain that China and Europe were in touch in the first century of our era. To begin with the Western sources which we know best, we learn from Florus, who wrote in the days of the Emperor Trajan (98-117), that in the time of Augustus there came to Rome to ask for peace, besides Scythians and Sarmatians, also Indians and *Seres* (or Chinese). He tells us that the Indians and Seres declared that their journey had taken four years, and he adds that their very complexion proved that they belonged to another world.² Pliny too, writing towards the close of the first century, has something to say of the Seres in his *Natural History*.

China first
known to the
West.

¹ "Nam mercatores de Lombardia et aliis terris ditissimi, qui in illis partibus degunt, et frequenter perveniunt, trahunt hos ordines (Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, etc.) ad illas partes, et eis cum auxilio . . . fidelium claustra fundant . . . Et ipsi mercatores adducunt secum . . . juvenes, linguis diversis eruditos quos tradunt Ordinibus." The friars then train the youths. Anon. Germanus, *De gestis trium regum*, c. 65, ap. Golubovich, ii, p. 153.

² *Hist. Rom.*, iv, 12. "Ipse hominum color ab alio venire cœlo fatebatur." Cf. Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, i, 18, for Chinese support of the account of Florus.

Though his idea of the position of their country was of the vaguest, he knew that, in order to reach it, one had to cross deserts almost impassable by reason of snow, wild animals, and barbarous, even cannibal, Scythians. He says that the Seres themselves are "mild", and, like timid animals, shun the society of other men. Still, he continues, they are keen to trade with their silk, which, speaking of it as *wool*, he believed *grew* like cotton. He assures us that it was through their *wool* forests that the Chinese are famous¹; and he adds that "our women have to unravel and weave" the *wool* which had been detached from the trees by "water". Incidentally we may add that with the exception of the Greek geographer, Pausanias (fl. 176), practically all the *classical* Western geographers believed that there was a silk plant. But, although Pausanias did not know where the Seres (Chinese) lived, he was sure that silk was produced by a worm,² as was also St. Basil, long before the days of Justinian. He tells us of the "horned worm of *India*" (including southern China) which "turns from a caterpillar into a buzzing insect", and provides the silk sent by the Chinese for "the delicate dresses" of the Roman women.³

It was, however, but seldom, if indeed ever at all, that the ancient Romans traded directly with the Chinese for their silk. They had to get it from the Persians, or from the Alans, who lived by the northern slopes of the Caucasus and by the Caspian Sea, and in time became Christians. However, it would appear that they made

¹ *Hist. Nat.*, vi, c. 20. "Lancio silvarum nobiles." Cf. vi, 15, 24; xxxiv, 41. Pomponius Mela, *De situ orbis*, iii, 7, writing c. A.D. 40-50, speaks of the Seres as "full of justice".

² See his *Description of Greece*, l. vi, c. 26. Centuries before him, Aristotle also knew that silk came from a worm. Cf. *Hist. Animal.*, v. 19. Cf. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, iv, 228 ff., and Append. xii, p. 534 f., ed. Bury.

³ *Hexameron*, hom. viii, 8, ap. Migne, *Pat. G.*, t. 29.

efforts to get the raw silk direct from China, for the Chinese Annals relate that, in the year 166, a Roman emperor, whom they call An-thum (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus), sent ambassadors to China for trade purposes. The said Annals declare that the Romans were very skilful in working the silk, and that their dyes were better and their colours were more brilliant and gay than any in the East.¹ The geographer Ptolemy, too (writing in the first century), speaks of Roman caravans that went to China (Sera). He says that they went from north Persia by the great commercial road between Bactria and Sogdiana. The merchants assembled at Hierapolis on the Euphrates, and journeyed to Bactria by the south of the Caspian Sea. He does not, however, give any details of their journey beyond the river Jaxartes; but simply relates that they had to give presents to various savage tribes to be allowed to pass farther on.² Hence we may well doubt if many or any of these caravans ever reached China proper, and accept the statement of the author of the *Periplus*, believed to have been written also in the first century, who, after speaking of Thin (China), where the raw silk and silk stuffs come from, adds: "It is not easy to get to this Thin, and few and far between are those who come from it"—a statement we find repeated by the Arabian historian, Abulfeda, in the fourteenth century. "There are few travellers," he says, "who arrive from those parts."³

¹ Pauthier, *Chine*, p. 260, and F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 42. Cf. pp. 46-7, Leipzig and Shanghai, 1885. The Chinese Annals also mention an embassy of the Emperor Carus (282-3). Cf. Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geog.*, i, 180; cf. pp. 471-3.

² *Geog.*, i, c. 11-12. Cf. i, 17; vi, 16, and vii, 2, 3, 5. For other classical references, see Yule-Cordier, *Cathay*, i, 183 ff.

³ The *Periplus*, ap. Müller, *Geog. Græci Min.*, i, p. 303; Eng. trans., ed. Schoff, c. 64, N. York, 1912; and Guyard's French trans. of Abulfeda's *Geog.*, II, ii, p. 122. English extracts ap. Yule, *Cathay*, i, pp. 183 and 255.

Chinese
Annals and
the West.

Nevertheless, it must not be supposed that it was only the Romans who endeavoured to get in touch with the Chinese. At times, at least, the Chinese tried to get in touch with the Romans for purposes of trade or even of conquest. From the Chinese Annals it would appear that, under Ho-Ti (A.D. 89-106) of the dynasty of Han (202 B.C.-A.D. 222) the Chinese general Kan-ying reached the coast of Syria (about A.D. 90) in his efforts to establish relations with Rome (Ta-thsin).¹

China and
Byzantium.

Not unnaturally communications between China and the Byzantine Empire were more frequent than between it and the early Roman Empire. Ammianus Marcellinus (c. 330-400) knows of the quiet unwarlike Chinese, of the healthy climate of their country, of their silk and other exports, and of their not purchasing anything from others.² A Byzantine traveller, Cosmas Indicopleustes, not only speaks of "Tzinista which produces the silk", but was the first geographer to give clearly its true boundary on the East. He states correctly: "Beyond this there is no other country, for the Ocean borders it on the East."³ Cosmas wrote in the days of the Emperor Justinian, in whose time the silkworm was first cultivated in the West from eggs which two monks are said to have contrived to bring from China sealed in a cane.⁴ Chinese records speak of several embassies from Constantinople especially during the great Tang dynasty (618-907). They tell of one in 643 to the Emperor Tai-tsung, in

¹ Cf. Pauthier, *Chine*, p. 258-9, and his *Relat. polit. de la Chine avec les puiss. occid.*, 1859, and E. Bretschneider, *On the Knowledge Possessed by the Ancient Chinese of the Arabs, etc.*, p. 4, London, 1871, and his *Mediæval Researches from Asiatic Sources*, i, 143-4; ii, 323.

² *Hist.*, xxiii, 6.

³ *Topog. Christ.*, ap. Migne, *Pat. Græc.*, vol. 88, p. 169. See the annotated English translation of McCrindle, London, 1899 (Hakluyt Soc.).

⁴ Procopius, *De bello Gothico*, iv, 17; Theoph., *Excerpta*, printed with Dexippus, etc., ed. Bonn, p. 484; ed. Labbe, *Eclog. hist. byz.*, pp. 22, 112; and Zonaras, *Epit.*, xiv, 9.

whose reign the famous Si-ngan-fu inscription was set up. Other missions are spoken of in 711, 719, 742.¹ All during this period, and especially in the first three-quarters of the ninth century, there was a great deal of Arab and Moslem intercourse with China, especially by sea.² Indeed, until the establishment of the Mongol Dynasty,³ China was never so much in touch with other countries as during the Tang dynasty. Taitsung (or Tai-tsung, 627-49), the principal ruler of this dynasty, is said to have recommended both Islam and Christianity to his subjects.⁴ At any rate, with regard to the former, we are assured that the Moslems erected, in 751, a mosque in Canton which still stands.⁵

Although it is true that Byzantine and Moslem envoys or traders found their way to China during the nineteenth Chinese dynasty, that of Sung, a dynasty distinguished for advance in art, literature, and philosophy (960-1279), still after the revolution of 878 before the close of the glorious Tang dynasty intercourse between China and other countries almost ceased. A Moslem contemporary traveller, Abu Zeyd, tells us how in that year a rebellion broke out, and how in the course of it, the rebels sacked Khanfu,⁶ the principal city of foreign trade. In the sack Christians, Jews, Moslems, and Parsees who were dwelling there for business purposes were ruthlessly massacred, along with the natives. In their savage fury the rebels cut down the mulberry-trees of the district, and for a time ruined the silk trade. "From all this," concludes Abu Zeyd, "arose unjust dealings with the merchants who traded thither, so that there was no outrage, no

¹ Pauthier, *Chine*, p. 297; Hirth, *l.c.*, p. 55.

² Cf. Beazley, *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, i, 401, 414 ff.

³ Known as the Yuen (original) dynasty.

⁴ Cf. I. C. Hannah, *Eastern Asia*, p. 78, London, 1911.

⁵ H. H. Gowen, *An Outline Hist. of China*, p. 133, Boston, 1918.

⁶ The Kin-sai of Marco Polo, c. 68.

treatment so bad, but they exercised it upon the foreign traders and the masters of the ships.”¹ The result was that foreign intercourse with China practically ceased for three centuries.

With the conquests of Zinghis Khan, and the establishment of the Mongol (Yuen) dynasty in China in the thirteenth century, distrust or at least ill-treatment of the foreigner had to cease throughout the Celestial Empire. Christianity had another opportunity in China and, as we shall see, availed itself of it.

We have said “another opportunity”, for in its early days, and in the beginning of the Middle Ages, Christianity had had a first opportunity. The religion of Jesus Christ was no doubt introduced into China in the same way as it was introduced into most other countries—by traders and prisoners of war, by slaves and travellers, and also possibly by men, cleric or lay, who made it their business to propagate the faith. At any rate, we are assured by the Christian apologist, Arnobius, that in the third century, at least, the faith of Christ had found its way among the *Seres*, as the Romans called the Chinese.² The famous bishop and historian, Theodoret, writing in the fifth century, also includes the *Seres* among the peoples to whom Christianity had been preached.³ “Our fishermen,” he says, have carried the laws of the

¹ Cited by Beazley, *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, ii, p. 418. See pp. 57–8 of the Italian version of Abu Zeyd, Bologna, 1749. Reinaud, in his *Relations des Voyages dans l'Inde, etc.*, 2 vols, Paris, 1845, has given French versions of the voyages of Abu Zeyd Hassan of Siraf, and of the Anonymous Traveller, identified with Suleyman the Merchant. There is an English version of *The Two Mussulman Travellers* (as edited by Renaudot in 1718) of 1733. Cf. Abou'lfeida, *Annales Moslemici*, p. 213 f., ed. Reiske; and El-Masudi, *Meadows of Gold* (written c. 943), p. 323, Sprenger, Eng. trans.

² *Adv. Gentes*, ii, 10. He mentions the *Seres* again, *ib.*, vi, 3. Cf. Theodoret, *Serm.* 9. For further notes on the intercourse between the West and the Extreme East, see Beazley, *l.c.*, i, p. 530 f.

³ *Serm.* 9. “De providentia,” ap. Migne, *Pat. Græc.*, 83, p. 1038.

Gospel even to those outside the Roman Empire, "to Indians, Ethiopians, Persians, and Chinese (Seras)."

At the end of a manuscript of the so-called *Lausiaca History* of Palladius, seemingly bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia, written in the year 420, there was found a curious treatise in Greek on India and the Brahmins.¹ It has been wrongly attributed to St. Ambrose² and to Palladius himself, but the date and authorship of the little work appear to be unknown. Its contents, however, show that it was written at a date when "the Roman Emperor" was known all over the civilized world, and when to be a "Roman citizen" was sufficient to secure respect everywhere. The little narrative then may well date from the time of St. Ambrose or even earlier. Its author frankly acknowledges that he has never been outside Europe, but has set down what he has heard and read about the Brahmins. He begins by relating that one Musæus or Moses, called by some bishop of the ancient city of Aduli, south of Massowah in Abyssinia, told him that he had both visited the Brahmins in India, and had travelled over almost all the country of the Seres.³ He added, however, an account of the "silk-trees" among the *Seres* and further stated that, also among them, he had seen a column on which were the words: "I, Alexander, reached this place." From these latter statements it would seem fairly evident that Musæus had never been in China proper; he probably never got beyond Sogdiana nor crossed the Jaxartes.⁴

¹ Cf. Ceillier, *Hist. des auteurs ecclés.*, vii, p. 493, Paris, 1861.

² Hence it is printed in vol. iv of his works, p. 1131 ff., ed. Migne, *Pat. Lat.* It was also printed in London, 1668, with a Latin version, by Ed. Bissæus.

³ Moses is really described as "Dolenorum episcopus", and he stated that "Serica[m] fere universam peragravit".

⁴ The rest of the brief, seemingly incomplete, narrative rests on the more reliable assertions of a "scholasticus of Thebes" who, embarking on the Red Sea "navigavit primo sinum Adulicum et Adulitarum oppidum (Aduli)". *L.c.*, p. 1133.

As strengthening these vague allusions to the early introduction of Christianity into China, we may call attention to very ancient objects of Christian worship which have been found in that country from time to time. An iron cross with Chinese inscriptions in praise of the life-giving cross is said to have been discovered in the Kiang-si and to date from the third century.¹ Three other antique crosses found in other places are assigned to the fourth or fifth, and sixth and seventh centuries respectively.²

Whatever may be thought of the proving force of the evidence already adduced to show the early preaching of Christianity in China, there is at any rate no manner of doubt that it was preached there before the seventh century. This is certain from the famous Si-ngan-fu inscription,³ which was found in 1625, close to the walls of the city which has given its name to the monument. The inscription is cut on a large block of a dark coloured marble some ten feet high by five in breadth, and is on one side of the great slab. Though a small portion of the inscription is in Syriac, and in such Syriac characters as are found in Syriac manuscripts of an earlier date than the eighth century, the great body of it is in ancient Chinese.

From the monument, which was erected in the year 780-I, "in the days of the Father of Fathers,

¹ Cf. Chardin, *Les missions franciscaines en Chine*, p. 7, Paris, 1915.

² *Ib.*, p. 8. Cf. Yule, *Cathay*, i, 122.

³ A complete translation of the inscription is given in French in the valuable art. "Chine" in Cabrol's *Dict. d'archéol.*, and in English in Huc's *Christianity in China, etc.*, vol. i, c. 2, Eng. trans., London, 1857. A recent description and photographs of the inscription will be found in F. Nichols, *Through Hidden Shensi*, 1902. Si-ngan-fu is now the capital of the province of Shensi, but was then the capital of the Empire. Cf. also Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, v, Append. 7, p. 520 ff., ed. Bury, and Beazley, *l.c.*, i, 215 ff., and Pauthier, *L'inscription de Si-ngan-fou*, Paris, 1858.

Ananjesus II. (775-80), *Catholicos*,"¹ by a Syrian priest to commemorate, as he said, the preaching of the Gospel by our fathers to the Chinese, a sufficiently clear idea of the doctrines of Christianity may be gathered. The inscription also states that a certain religious man of great virtue, by name A-lo-pen, along with some others, came from the Roman Empire in 635, to Si-ngan-fu. He was well received by the reigning Emperor, Tai-tsung, who bade him translate the sacred books which he had brought with him. In an imperial decree, cited in the inscription, the doctrine taught by A-lo-pen is summarized, and pronounced good. Permission is accordingly given for it to be taught.²

This important decree has also been preserved by the Chinese historian, Wang P'u, who was ordered by the first Emperor of the Sung dynasty to draw up the history of the preceding Tang dynasty (618-907) which it had overthrown. As given in the pages of Wang P'u, the decree, dated 639, is set forth substantially in the same terms as in the monument. "The monk A-lo-pen," it states, "came from Po-sze (Persia), bringing from afar the Scriptures and the doctrine in order to present them at our capital. On examining the spirit of this doctrine we find it excellent . . . and that it is quickening

¹ On Ananjesus see Bar-Hebræus, *Chron.*, vol. iii, p. 163 ff., with the notes thereto of Abbeloos.

² The inscription also proclaims some of the practices of the Christian faith, such as praying for "the living and the dead". "On the seventh day we offer sacrifice, after having purified our hearts, and received absolution of our sins." Huc, *l.c.*, p. 51. It is generally maintained, without sufficient grounds, as it seems to some, that the scheme of Christian doctrine set out by the inscription is Nestorian. Chinese Annals, ap. Hirth, *China and the Ro. Orient*, p. 55 f., assert that in 719 the Emperor of Byzantium sent "priests of great virtue to our court with tribute". Leo, the Iconclast, was then Emperor. Did he send Nestorian priests?

for mankind and indispensable. . . . It is, therefore, worthy of being spread over the Celestial Empire.”¹

The Kings and ministers of the Tang dynasty for the most part favoured Christianity.

Besides the decree of 639 just cited, which was the work of the famous Emperor, Tai-tsung (627-49), giving permission for Christianity to be taught throughout the Empire, there is another of the Emperor Hiuen-tsung, bearing on Christianity, inscribed on a tablet found in our own times. It is dated in the year 745, and decrees that, in order to make the origin of “the luminous doctrine” (Christianity) “quite clear, their temples should in future be known, not as those of Po-se-se (Persia), but as those of *Ta-tsin*, i.e., “of the Roman Empire,” or at least “of the West”.² The only persecutor of the Christians in the Tang dynasty was the Emperor U- (or Wu) tsung, who in 845 ordered the secularization of the priests of *Ta-tsin*.³ Throughout the greater part of the Tang dynasty, then, Christianity flourished in China.

Churches were, as just noted, built in various parts,⁴ and, according to Huc,⁵ during that period the Nestorian Catholicus, Saliba-Zacha († 729 or 730) founded the metropolitan see of China. The abbé cites Ebedjesus (or Abdh-īshō’),⁶ metropolitan of Nisibis († 1318), as his authority for this statement; and, in fact, to quote from the Latin version of Cardinal Mai, the Syrian historian writes: “The Catholicus, Saliba-Zacha, founded the metropolitan sees of Heria (in Khorassan), Samarcand and China. It is said, indeed, that they were founded

¹ Quoted by the archimandrite Palladius in *The Chinese Recorder*, vol. vi (1875), p. 147, Shanghai.

² Cf. Huc, *l.c.*, p. 78, and Cabrol, *Dict.*, iii, p. 1358.

³ Cabrol, *ib.*, p. 1357.

⁴ Cf. the inscription ap. Huc, *l.c.*, pp. 52 ff. Indeed, it seems that the Emperor, Hiuen-tsung, was a Christian (Nestorian).

⁵ *L.c.*, p. 42.

⁶ On him see Wright, *Hist. of Syriac Literature*, p. 285 ff.

by Achæus and Silas.¹ But the metropolitans of Heria and India take precedence of the metropolitan of China, but the metropolitan of China ranks before the metropolitan of Samarcand.”² Similarly, Amru-ben-Matthæi, a Nestorian Syrian, who wrote somewhat later (fl. 1340),³ but who quotes as his authority Mar Salomon who lived some two centuries earlier, when enumerating the patriarchs subject to the Catholicus assigns the twelfth place to the “metropolitan of the Chinese”. And, writing as a contemporary, Thomas of Marga tells us that, seemingly about the middle of the ninth century, one David, who was known to him, a monk of the famous Nestorian monastery of Beth Abbe in Mesopotamia, was consecrated metropolitan of Beth Sinaye or China.⁴

In the eighth century the patriarch Timothy I., the successor of Ananjesus II., not only speaks of the Christians in Thibet and China, but tells us that he made the bishop of the Chinese into a metropolitan.⁵ In the following century, we find the Catholicus Theodosius (852–98), deciding that the metropolitans of such distant and inaccessible countries as China need not observe the

¹ Achæus was Catholicus from 412 to 416, and Silas from 503–20. Cf. Bar-Hebræus, ii, p. 52, with the notes; and p. 82. On Saliba-Zacha, *ib.*, p. 150.

² *Script. Vet. nova Coll.*, x, pp. 141–2.

³ Ap. Assemani, *Bib. Orientalis*, ii, 458. Cf. Amri and Sliba, p. 73, ed. Gismondi, where “the metropolitan of China is given the fourteenth place”.

⁴ *Book of Governors*, l. iv, c. 20, vol. ii, pp. 447–8, ed. Budge, London, 1893. Cf. vol. i, p. cxv.

⁵ Cf. the valuable paper of A. Mingana, *The Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East*, p. 12 ff., Manchester, 1925, and H. Labourt, *De Timotheo I.*, pp. 45, 48, 64 (Paris, 1904), quoting writings of the patriarch, and also Assemani, *Bib. Orient.*, iii, pt. i, p. 143. Also on the work of Timothy in China, see Huc, *l.c.*, p. 86 ff. He relies on the *Historia Monastica*, iv, 20, of Thomas of Marga (ninth century). Assemani gives an analysis of it (*l.c.*, pp. 464–501), but Budge has published the full text and an English trans., *The Book of Governors; Historia Monastica*, A.D. 840, 2 vols., London, 1893.

canon which commanded metropolitans to visit the *Catholicus* every four years. It would be sufficient if they sent letters of communion every six years, and just dues for the upkeep of the patriarchate.¹

As already stated, it was under the Emperors of the enlightened Tang dynasty that these Christian relations with China were so frequent ; and, from a story preserved by an Arab historian, we can see what an interest they took in it. Abu Zeyd Hassan, of Siraf, on the Persian Gulf, cited once before, writing in the last quarter of the ninth century, describes the journey of his friend Ibn Vahab to the court of the Emperor of China, at Singan-fu. Finding that Vahab was a Mohammedan, the Emperor called for a box in which were a number of pictures, and asked the Arab if he could identify his Prophet. This he was easily able to do, and he also recognized " Moses with his rod, and the children of Israel ". He also said to the Emperor : " There is Jesus upon an ass, and here are his Apostles with him." " Ah," said the Emperor, " he was not long upon the earth, for all he did was transacted within the space of little more than thirty months." ²

The Emperor who was thus acquainted with our Lord's life was no doubt Hi-tsung, who began to reign in 874. Before his reign closed, a rebellion was begun which not only broke the Tang dynasty, but practically put an end to intercourse between China and other countries, and largely destroyed the Christianity which had spread so widely. It is again Abu Zeyd who tells us how the

¹ Ebedjesus, *Epit. Canon.*, ap. Assemani, *Bib. O.*, III, pt. i, p. 347. On the whole question of Christianity in China, see *ib.*, i, p. 504 ff.

² The narrative of Abu Zeyd has been published by Renaudot (of which an English version appeared in 1733), but better by Reinaud in his *Rélations des Voyages dans l'Inde*, etc., Paris, 1845. We have used Beazley's translation, *l.c.*, iii, 420, and an old Italian translation, pp. 67-8, Bologna, 1749. It is a translation of E. Renodozio's (Renaudot) French version. See also Huc, *l.c.*, i, p. 90 ff.

rebellion broke out, in two provinces north of the Yellow River under a man who called himself "The General who attacks the Heavens" (878). Among other places, as we have said already, he sacked the then centre of the foreign trade with China, the city of Kanfu,¹ hard by the modern Hang-chow on the Chang-kiang river. "The inhabitants," says the Arab, "were put to the sword. Persons acquainted with the events that take place in China report that on this occasion there perished 120,000 persons, Moslems, Jews, Christians, and Parsees, who had settled in the city for the sake of trade."²

Though the revolution, with the cessation of foreign trade which it brought about, caused the progressive decay of Christianity in China till its revival by the Franciscan missionaries of the fourteenth century, it probably did not extinguish it altogether. Not only did these missionaries find Nestorians in China, but we have a few fleeting notices which tend to show some Nestorian activity in those parts in the interim. It is true that an Arabian has left it on record that he had talked with a young monk at Baghdad who, with five others, had been sent by the Catholicus (Ebedjesus, 963-86) to China to regulate the affairs of the Church there, but who said that he had not been able to find a single Christian in China. However, as the young monk also stated that "he had returned more quickly than he went", we may reasonably conclude, considering the extent of China, that his researches had not been considerable.³ Against this we may note that a Chinese authority of the following century speaks of a Christian temple which had "formerly" been built by people from Central Asia.⁴

¹ It is the Quinsay of Marco Polo.

² Zeyd, ap. Huc, *l.c.*, p. 93 ff., or Beazley, *l.c.*, p. 418.

³ Ap. Abulfeda, i, cdii; Yule, i, 113-14; Le Strange, *Bagdad*, p. 213.

⁴ Ap. Yule, i, 116 n., and H. Cordier, *Le Christianisme en Chine*, p. 17.

Unfortunately, however, he does not say whether the temple was still used by the Christians. Moreover, one of the Jesuit missionaries of the seventeenth century found a copy of the Bible of this very eleventh century.¹ It was written in Gothic characters on the very thinnest parchment; but, as it was in Latin, it may perhaps have been brought into China by one of the Franciscans in the fourteenth century.² Whether these facts really prove anything or not as to Christianity in China between the close of the ninth century and the thirteenth, the following statement by the Franciscan Rubruquis would seem to show that there must have been some Nestorian activity there during that period. Telling of his journey (1253-4) to the Tartar capital, Karakorum, he says not only that he found Nestorians all the way to Cathay, but that "in fifteen cities of Cathay there are Nestorians, and they have an episcopal see in a city called Segin".³ John of Piano Carpini, too, had previously spoken of the people of Cathay who had reverence for our Lord Jesus Christ, who believed in eternal life, but had not been baptized.⁴ They were no doubt the descendants of the Nestorian Christians of earlier centuries.

The West
awakes to
interest in
the East.

However all this may be, it is certain that Catholic Christianity was introduced into China at the close of the thirteenth century. The Crusades in the eleventh century, the stories of the great priest-king, Prester John, in the Far East which reached Europe in the twelfth century, the doings of Zinghis Khan and his terrible Mongols in the beginning of the thirteenth century,

¹ For list of Christian MSS. found in China, see Mingana, *Early Spread of Christianity in Asia*, p. 42 ff.

² Yule, *l.c.*, pp. 122-3.

³ ch. 26 and ch. 28, ed. Rockhill or Bergeron, *Recueil de divers voyages*, ii, p. 60. In ch. 26 he states that he had met a Nestorian from Cathay. Segin is generally identified with Si-ngan-fu.

⁴ Ch. 9 of his *Voyage*.

turned the attention of the West very strongly even to the Far East. Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. proclaimed Crusades against the Mongols, and the latter pontiff, instituting the "Society of brother travellers for Jesus Christ", sent Franciscans and Dominicans to gather authentic information about those dreadful Tartars, and to work for their conversion. Most nobly did many of the friars fulfil the mission entrusted to them. Despite every difficulty of language, barbarous manners, and well-nigh impassable country, the friars gradually pushed their way to the Far East, and before the end of the thirteenth century, they had penetrated into China.

The pontificate of Nicholas IV. was contemporary with a small portion of the reign in China of Kublai Khan, grandson of Zinghis (Genghiz) Khan (1162-1227), the founder of the Mongol Empire. Kublai's brother Mangu had made great conquests in China, and on his death (1257), Kublai assumed the title of Emperor of China (1257-94), was recognized all over China *c.* 1279, and founded the Mongol dynasty of Yuen which held sway over that immense realm for about a century (1257-1368).

The Mongol
dynasty of
Yuen in
China.

Owing to the freedom from commercial or religious bigotry which in the main characterized the Mongol rulers,¹ the Popes had very soon entered into relations with them. Regular negotiations between them, begun under Innocent IV. through John de Piano Carpini, continued for more than 120 years (1245-1368), till the fall of the Mongol Chinese dynasty, and the re-establishment of a native Chinese dynasty, that of Ming, and long after the more westerly Mongols, after a period of indecision, had accepted Mohammedanism and its

¹ John Elemosina, *Liber Hist. S. Romanæ Ecclesiæ*, ap. Golubovich, *Biobibliog. dell' oriente Franceseano*, vol. ii, p. 107: "Et libere concesserunt (the Mongols or Tartars) nationibus et populis leges suas servare et precipue Christianis." John wrote about 1336. *Cf. ib.*, p. 120.

official intolerance about the beginning of the fourteenth century.¹

The Friars
are the
Pope's
agents in the
Far East.

The agents used by the Popes were the Franciscan and Dominican Friars, then in their first fervour. The first ones whom they sent to the Mongol princes were, not unnaturally, for the most part rather diplomatic envoys and explorers than missionaries. Such were those whom Beazley has well described as "the great friar-travellers of the first generation" — Carpini, Rubruquis, and Andrew of Longumeau, who found their way to Mongol rulers on the Volga and at Karakorum, their capital, in the far distant region of Lake Baikal.²

Acting on the information obtained from these first devoted and intelligent ecclesiastical explorers, the Popes took in hand the organization of regular missionary expeditions to the more important sections of the huge Tartar Empire, to China, to Persia, and south-western Asia, and to the different countries of Central Asia. Of these great realms "to the north of the Himalayas, the Hindu Kush, and the Arabian deserts," only Tartaria Magna, i.e., Cathay or China, will be here touched upon, and its story, as far as this work is concerned, will be bound up with that of Friar John of Montecorvino. This Italian Franciscan, born about the year 1247, established a Catholic mission in China which flourished amain under the Mongol rule, but was completely blotted out when the Tartar dynasty came to an end. Its success

¹ This took place under Khaibenda, otherwise called Oljaitu, the brother and successor of Ghazan the Ilkhan of Persia (1304-16). Cf. Brother Paolina da Venezia (†1344), *Chronologia magna*, written (c. 1316-14), and published in part by Golubovich, *Bibliog.*, ii, 97; and Hayton, *Flores hist. Orient.*, iii, c. 44 bis, ap. *ib.*, p. 463. On the whole subject of the Franciscan missions to China see also the Abbé Huc, *Christianity in China, Tartary, and Thibet*, vol. i, London, 1857.

² *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, vol. iii, p. 161.

was wholly due to John, of whom it has been said that "no character so worthy of respect . . . appears among the ecclesiastical travellers" of the age.¹

After the missionary efforts of Innocent IV., the Popes kept in more or less close touch with the Tartars of the furthest East till towards the last quarter of the fourteenth century, till the reign of the dreaded "Timur the Tartar", the founder of the second great Mongol Empire, in whose time the Mongols of the centre and south-west generally accepted Mohammedanism. Details have been already given of the intercourse between them and Alexander IV., under whose pontificate they gave some satisfaction to Christendom by putting an end to one of its great foes, the Caliphate of Baghdad (1258). In his reign, too, there set out for the Far East the famous Venetian travellers, the brothers Maffeo and Nicolo Polo (1260). It was while his second successor, Clement IV., was Pope, one of whose first acts was to cause a crusade to be preached against the Tartars,² and who appears not to have been very much disposed to place confidence in Tartar promises—it was while he was Pope that the Polos stood before the Great Khan Kublai in China and told him about the position of the Pope among Christian Princes and about the Church of Rome. Much impressed, the Khan begged the brothers to go, with one of his nobles, on an embassy to the Pope in his behalf (1266). Furnishing them with a letter in Turkish for the Pope, he therein begged him to send him a hundred men "wise in the Christian law and acquainted with the seven arts", who could prove that it was better than theirs.³ Finding when they reached Acre (April, 1269) that Clement IV. was dead (Nov., 1268), the brothers informed Tedaldo

Papal relations with the Tartars from Innocent IV. to Nicholas IV.

The Polos.

¹ Sir H. Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. iii, p. 11, new ed. of H. Cordier, London, 1914.

² See his letter to the bishops of Hungary cited below.

³ Polo's *Travels*, c. 7.

Visconti, the Papal legate in Palestine, of the letters they had for the Pope. The legate, whom the Polos justly describe as a "wise clerk . . . a man of great authority . . . the most distinguished man in all the Church of Rome", bade them await the election of a new Pope.¹ But the election was delayed and delayed, and the brothers, with Nicolo's son, the famous author, Marco, determined to return to Kublai, without the wished-for missionaries. Arrived at Acre, they again presented themselves before the legate (1271), who gave them letters for Kublai. With these, the Polos departed; but they had not gone far on their way when they were recalled by the Legate who had received news that he had himself been elected Pope (Sept., 1271). Unable at the moment to find the hundred wise missionaries, the newly-elected Pontiff² attached to the Polos the two most learned Dominicans he could find in the province, and furnished them with letters.³ But the Dominicans proved to be wanting⁴ in the necessary courage, and left the merchants, who accordingly once more presented themselves before the great Khan without missionaries. Interest, however, in the Tartars was again aroused in Gregory by the appearance of the legates of the Khan Abaga at the Council of Lyons (1274). Baptized before the assembled Fathers, "they returned with joy to Tartary," says John Elemosina,⁵ "telling

¹ *Travels*, Prologue.

² Known as Gregory X.

³ Polo's *Travels*, *ib.*

⁴ *Ib.*

⁵ See extracts from his *Chronicle*, published for the first time by Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, ii, p. 125. The *Acts* of the Council for July 16 say that "one of the Tartar envoys, with two of his suite (*socii*)", was baptized. The remaining thirteen members of the embassy were already Christians. On Jan. 26, 1275, our own King Edward directed a letter to Abaga Khan, "Prince of the Magali," in which he expressed his pleasure at his affection for the Christian faith, and at his promise to assist the Christians in the Holy Land. Rymer, ii, 43.

their king and people great things about the faith of Christ and about the holy Roman Church. From that time the Church of the Faithful increased in *Tartaria Aquilonari*, Gazaria and Kipchak, i.e., among the Tartars to the north of the Black and Caspian Seas." Gregory, unfortunately, did not live long enough to follow up his first dealings with Kublai, and his first three successors reigned for too short a time to be able to give much attention to Tartar questions. But in April, 1278, Nicholas III. sent off a fresh band of Franciscans furnished with letters, not merely to Abaga, the subordinate Khan of Persia, but to his uncle, Kublai, the great Khan himself in China.¹ This he did, to some extent at least, in fulfilment of the wishes of his predecessor, John XXI. That pontiff had received fresh communications from Abaga who had followed up his negotiations with Clement IV., and the embassy of sixteen which he had sent to the Council of Lyons by another in charge of the brothers Vassalli.² John had therefore selected five Franciscans, placing at their head Gerard of Prato, to carry his replies to the Khan, and to work for the conversion of his subjects. Salimbene, who gives us this information, was personally acquainted with these envoys, and on their safe return learnt much about the Tartars from them.³

Abaga's embassy to John XXI., just like his former ones, was mainly political in its object. Faced by the power of the Moslem, Abaga, whose wife had told him

¹ See the letters in Wadding, *Ann. Minorum*, v, 35 ff., or *Reg. Nich. III.*, nn. 232-8. Cf. Huc, *Christ. in China*, i, 287 ff.

² The register of Charles of Anjou reveals the fact that one of these envoys (Jacobus Vassallus, nuntius illustris regis Tartarorum) had been robbed by one of his servants. Cf. M. Ricci, *Il regno di Carlo I. d'Angiò*, ad an. 1277, Jan. 26, p. 7.

³ *Chron.*, p. 210. G. de Prato "cum quo habitavi in conventu Pisano quando eramus juvenes . . . Reversi sunt itaque fratres . . . sopites, et multa dicebant de eis (Tartars) ut ab eis audivi".

much about the power of the Christian West,¹ hoped to get the aid of the Christians to help him to break it. He had accordingly as a bait, offered to help them to free the Holy Land from the Moslem. This was as far back as the days of Clement IV. That Pontiff, in replying to the offer (1267),² had told him that the Christian princes were preparing to wage war on the Moslem, and that he would communicate his wishes and those of his father-in-law to them, and in due course report to him their decisions. As the Crusade of St. Louis (1270) went to Tunis, there was no opportunity of testing the genuineness of the promises of Abaga; but Gregory X. gave to his envoys at Lyons a reply similar to that which Clement IV. had

¹ He had married a natural daughter of Michael Palæologus. Abaga and Palæologus also urged the warlike James I. of Aragon to help them to recover the Holy Land, promising him supplies of all kinds. According to his own account, James was inclined to fall in with their suggestions, but the King of Castile warned him that "the Tartars were deceitful, and . . . would not perform what they had promised"; and advised him not to undertake such an enterprise "for anything in this world". This was in the year 1268. Cf. James' *Chronicle*, vol. ii, cc. 475 and 481, Eng. trans.

² The letter, ap. Martène, *Thes. nov. anecdot.*, ii, 517, n. 520, is addressed to "Elchani Apacha", i.e., to the Ilkhan, Abaga, and is of Aug. 13-16, 1267. The Pope says that no one in his court could read the letter, as Abaga had not written in Latin as before. He had to depend upon what he could gather through an interpreter, from the envoy. The letter of the Pope began by congratulating Abaga upon being a follower of God's only begotten Son, and by thanking him for his congratulations on the defeat of Manfred by Charles. Evidently the ruler of Persia was well informed as to European politics, probably better informed than the Pope was regarding the Tartars. Clement, though his language is ambiguous, appears to have supposed that Abaga was actually a Christian. But as Marino Sanudo, *Liber Secretor.*, lib. iii, pt. xiii, c. 8, ap. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 238), who wrote between 1306 and 1321, says: "He refused to be baptized, and worshipped idols." The first letter of Clement IV. about the Tartars had been to the bishops of Hungary (June 25, 1265), urging them to preach a Crusade against them in their country and in Bohemia, Poland, Brandenburg, etc. Cf. Theiner, *Mon. Hung.*, i, 280.

given. He promised to notify him about the future movements of the Christian forces.¹

Though thus in touch with the Mongols of the south-west of Asia, it does not appear that Gregory made any further efforts to get into communication with Kublai. He doubtless awaited the return of the Polos. His letters had by these adventurous travellers been duly presented to the Great Khan "probably in the early summer of 1275".² But long before the Polos returned to Venice with Kublai's replies (1295), Gregory had died, and fresh papal missions had been sent to China.

The first of these was that dispatched by Nicholas III., of which we have already spoken. But there is no evidence that Gerard of Prato and his companions ever reached China. It is true that Nicholas had urged Abaga to help them to reach his uncle,³ and he had addressed a letter to Kublai whom he wrongly supposed to be a Christian. He had briefly explained to him the mystery of man's redemption by our Lord, and the power that the Saviour had left with St. Peter and his successors. He had told the Khan that, in virtue of his office, it was his duty to preach the Gospel to the whole world, and he accordingly urged Kublai to help the missionaries whom he was sending to him in order that they might convert his people.⁴

The mission
of Nicholas
III. to China.
1278.

Though they appear to have made many converts,⁵

¹ Ep. of March 13, 1274, ap. Wadding, iv, pp. 416-17.

² *Travels*, Prologue.

³ Ep. Apr. 1, 1278, ap. Wad., v, p. 36 f. He calls the great Khan "Quolibey . . . moderator omnium Tartarorum", and says of him, "qui jam dudum fuisse asseritur baptizatus." He tells Abaga that the friars he is sending him are especially good men, well acquainted with the Sacred Scriptures, and he begs him: "eos cum securo conductu ad praefatum Cham, cum expensarum et aliorum necessariorum provisione matura deliberatione transmittens."

⁴ Ep. Apr. 4, 1278, ap. *ib.*, p. 38 ff.

⁵ Cf. ep. of Nicholas III. (Oct. 7, 1278), ap. *ib.*, p. 42.

still, as we have said, there is not the slightest evidence that Gerard and his companions ever got as far as China. Whether they finally lost heart, like the two Dominicans who set out with the three Polos, or whether Abaga's successor, Ahmad Nikudar,¹ who apostatized, would not permit them to proceed, is wholly uncertain. It was reserved for the first Franciscan Pope, Nicholas IV., to send the first real Franciscan missionary to China.

John of
Montecorvino
sent thither
by Nicholas
IV., 1289.

Towards the beginning of his pontificate, Nicholas IV. selected among others for the important work of the conversion of the Tartars of China, two of the most distinguished Franciscans of his time, John of Parma, who had once been Minister-General of the Order, and John of Montecorvino,² whom contemporary and modern authors alike agree in praising. John had already had considerable experience of missionary work in the East, and had brought back word that Arghun (Argon), the fourth Ilkhan of Persia (1284-91), was very well disposed "towards us (the Pope) and the Roman Church, as also towards other Christian Churches".³ The Tartar Prince had himself expressed this goodwill by his envoys, and

¹ M. Sanutus (Sanudo) calls him Tangodomor (1281-4), and tells of his inducing many of his subjects to become Moslems like himself, and of his persecuting the Christians. *L.c.*, p. 239. It is interesting to note that this embassy cost the Holy See: "998 pounds, 2 solidi and 9 denarii." Cf. ep. of Nicholas IV., Jan. 8, 1290, ap. *Reg.*, n. 7244, ed. Langlois. See Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, ii, 426 ff.

² Cf. the *Chron.* of Bro. John Elemosina, ap. Golubovich, ii, pp. 110, 126-7, and 131. In the last reference we read: "Frater Yohannes de Monte corvino de ordine Fratrum Minorum, b. Francisci devotus imitator, in se ipso rigidus et severus, et in verbo Dei docendo . . . fervidus, a d. Nicolao P. IV. auctoritate . . . ad predicandos infideles iter aggressus." On John and his work, see A. van der Wyngaert, *Jean de Mont Corvin*, Lille, 1924, and A. Thomas, *Histoire de la mission de Pékin*, Paris, 1923.

³ See ep. of Nicholas to Arghun (July 15, 1289), ap. Wad., v, 195.

had, at the same time, declared that this same goodwill was shared by "Cobyla (Kublai), the great illustrious Prince of the Tartars", who had asked that "some Latin religious" should be sent to him. Wherefore, to oblige them both, Nicholas sent to them John of Montecorvino and a number of companions.¹

As John of Parma died before the departure of the mission, Montecorvino became its chief. Travelling first to Tabriz in Persia, he made his way thence to India (1291). After staying some thirteen months in India, "wherein is the Church of St. Thomas the Apostle," and baptizing about a hundred people in different parts, he set sail for China. The ship in which he sailed was, according to his own description of it, not one to inspire much confidence. It was, he wrote, "mighty frail and uncouth with no iron in it, and no caulking. It was sewn like clothes with twine, and so if the twine breaks anywhere there is a breach indeed. . . . It has, in the middle of the stern, a frail and flimsy rudder like the top of a table, a cubit in width. Tacking could only be done with much trouble, and if there was much of a wind, it was impossible to tack at all. There was but one sail, and one mast, and the sail was of matting or some miserable cloth. The ropes were of *resti* (some kind of grass). The mariners, too, were few and far from good . . . Hence when a ship achieved a safe voyage, it was

¹ *Ib.*, and the letter to "Cobyla Cham", *ib.*, p. 196 f. Nicholas even wrote to Kaidu who was in arms against Kublai, *ib.*, p. 197, as also to the King of Little Armenia (Cilicia), anxious for union with Rome, to his Aunt Mary, to the bishop of Tabriz, to the Jacobite Patriarch, "to the illustrious Emperor of Ethiopia" and many others. *Ib.*, p. 199 ff. The Emperor of Ethiopia may be the Sultan of Delhi, but is probably the Emp. of Abyssinia. In the *Revue des Quest. Hist.*, July, 1922, p. 201, it is stated that M. Pelliot had found in the Vatican archives a letter of Arghun (1291) to Nicholas IV., and a safe-conduct for a mission of bishops, and also a letter of his successor (Gamgiatu, or Aicatu or Caictu) regarding a mission of Guiscard.

customary to say that it was by God's guidance, and that man's skill had availed but little."¹

Under God's guidance then, Friar John stood before the great Khan in Cambalieg (Peking) in 1292 or 1293, not very long after the Polos had set out from Zaiton (Amoy harbour) on their return journey. These worthy merchants had won great favour with Kublai, whom they correctly described as "the most puissant man who has ever been in the world",² and consequently had prepared the way for the missionary. "Continuing my journey," says John himself, "I reached the realm of the Emperor of the Tartars who is called the Great Cham, and by means of the letter of our lord the Pope (Nicholas IV.), I invited him to adopt the Catholic faith of our Lord Jesus Christ. But he was too firmly rooted (inveteratus) in idolatry. Still he bestowed many benefits on the Christians, and this is now the twelfth year that I have been with him."³ As Kublai Khan died at the age of

¹ Yule's translation of this letter has here been largely utilized, ap. *Cathay and the Way Thither*, iii, 66 f., new ed., 1914. The original may be read, e.g., in Golubovich, i, 305 ff.

² *Travels*, c. 1. Polo says that the statements in his book prove his words. "After Chingiz himself," says Mr. Beazley, *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, iii, 43-4, "no one of the Mongol Khans could be said to rival Kublai. As a civilizer, a patron of arts and letters, a ruler of spirit finely touched and to fine issues, he was unequalled among the princes of his dynasty. . . . He was the fine flower of Tartar nature: the philosopher-king of a dynasty which had begun with no claim but force." If he was a great personality, the territory over which he ruled from the Chinese Sea to the Dnieper, and from the Arctic Ocean to the country south of the Ganges, was the greatest that has ever been subject to one ruler. As the Mongol Emperors in China had a Russian bodyguard, he must have learnt something of Christianity from them before the arrival of John. Cf. H. Cordier, *Ser Marco Polo*, p. 129 f.

³ The letter of John of Montecorvino: "Given in the city of Cambalieg in the kingdom of Cathay A.D. 1305, Jan. 8." See Golubovich's new and most correct reading of this letter, iii, p. 87 ff. The other printed versions of this letter, giving *two* years as the time of John's being with the Great Khan, have caused great confusion. Yule, *l.c.*, p. 45 f., gives an English translation of this letter.

eighty in February, 1294,¹ we may perhaps suppose that in 1293 the actual government was already in the hands of his grandson, Timur Oljaitu (1294-1307). Moreover, as the devotion of this latter to the doctrines of the Lamas is known from other sources,² the phrase "grown old in idolatry, inveteratus in ydolatria" would apply to him as well as to the aged Kublai. At any rate, neither of them was converted.

Prince
George.

However, if John failed to convert Timur, he succeeded in converting one of his subordinate princes. This was the Nestorian Prince George, of the family of the famous Prester John. To him John gave the Minor Orders; and when he said Mass, the Prince served it "wearing his royal robes". Angry at their Princes leaving their body, the Nestorians "who profess to bear the Christian name", but, adds John, "who deviate sadly from the Christian religion," strove to ruin the missionary by saying that he was no true envoy of the Pope, but was an impostor and a perverter of the minds of men. They also taunted Prince George with apostasy. But their calumnies were finally exposed, and they were banished with their wives and children by the Emperor. As for Prince George, he remained firm in the faith, "brought over a great part of his people to the true Catholic faith," and built a great church "in honour of our God, of the Holy Trinity, and of our lord the Pope, calling it the Roman Church".³

It was in vain that John tried to bring back these Nestorians to the obedience of the See of Rome, pointing

¹ Cf. H. Cordier, *Ser Marco Polo*, p. 68, London, 1920.

² Rashid-ed-din, the contemporary most important authority on Mongol hist., p. 191, ed. Quatremère, cited by Yule, *l.c.*

³ Ep. of John. The Nestorians even accused John of having murdered the real papal envoy, and stolen the great presents which he was bearing to the Khan. Timur is highly praised by the Dominican, Jordan of Severac, in his *Mirabilia Descripta*, ap. Beazley, *Dawn*, iii, 232.

out to them how necessary authority was for salvation. They replied by trying to pull down in the night what he had built of his "Minorite abbeys" in the day time. And, yet, says John of Cora, whom we are here quoting, if only, with their numbers and wealth, with the official positions they held at the imperial court, with their fine churches, they had been willing to co-operate with John and his friars, they could have converted the whole Chinese Empire. In fact, John would have himself have converted the whole country if the Nestorians had even left him alone, and not done all they could to thwart him.¹

John's
labours.

The indefatigable missionary, however, made converts among the idolatrous Mongols, and amongst the Chinese themselves, whether among the utilitarian pantheistic followers of Confucius or among the magic-loving disciples of Lao-Tze, or among the devotees of the Indian Buddha. For eleven years John was without help in his missionary labours; but, about two years before writing the letter from which we have just quoted, he was joined by a friar Arnold, a German of the province of Cologne. However, despite the bitter calumnies of the Nestorians, and want of assistance, John built a church, baptized thousands of people, bought 150 boys and trained them to sing the Divine Office, teaching them Latin and Greek. He also translated into the Tartar tongue the New Testament and the Psalter. But as he had no music books with him, the boys had to be taught by ear. He accordingly begged "the Minister-General of our Order" to send him such books, and also earnest brethren, men who could stand the allure of "aromatic spices and precious stones" and who would "lead exemplary lives, and not merely strive to enlarge their own phylacteries".² When he

¹ See the report of John de Cora, *Livre de l'État du Grand Caan*, pp. 344-5, ed. de Backer; and Beazley, *Dawn*, iii, 208-10.

² *Ib.* John had to deplore the relapse of his convert Nestorians on the death of Prince George, and the arrival of a Lombard surgeon who

penned this interesting letter which he desired to have brought to the knowledge of the Pope, he had not, he said, had any news of the Papal court or of his own Order for twelve years. Hence he prayed the brethren to whom his letter might come to bring it to the notice of the Pope and of the agents of our Order in Rome.

In the following year (1306), John, "legate and nuncio of the Apostolic See," had another opportunity of sending a letter to the West, and of telling of the further progress of his labours, and the anxiety of the Khan to see envoys from the court of Rome and the Latin world. John was the more anxious to have more fresh workers sent to the East, as he had received a deputation from a certain part of Ethiopia,¹ asking for Christian preachers, as they had had none since the days of St. Matthew the Apostle, and his disciples.²

From the chronicle of brother Elemosina, we learn the joy which these letters caused to cleric and lay alike on their arrival in Italy "and the western regions" in the days of Clement V.³ They had been brought to Italy by a certain Franciscan, brother Thomas of Tolentino, who had himself "preached for many years among the infidels". He then took them to Avignon, and at first brought them to the notice of the Pope through the Franciscan cardinal, "John de Muro."⁴ Anxious that "such a holy work of God" should continue, Clement bade the Minister-General of the Franciscans pick out had spread abroad "incredible blasphemies against the Roman curia, our Order, and the state of the West". All this work of John is described also, but not so accurately, in the *Chron.* of John of Winterthur (fl. 1348), ap. Eccard, *Corpus*, i, p. 1895 f., or Golubovich, iii, p. 160 ff.

John's
letters
received by
Clement V.

¹ That is, no doubt, India, as it was from the fourth century onwards often called Ethiopia. Cf. Reinaud, *Relations de l'Emp. Rom. avec Asie Orient.*, p. 175.

² Ep. of Feb. 13, 1306, ap. Golubovich, iii, p. 91, and Yule, p. 51 ff.

³ Ap. Golub., *ib.*, p. 86.

⁴ He had been Minister-General of the Order. In Eubel, *Hierarchia*, p. 13, he is called "Joannes Minius de Murovallium".

seven zealous brothers "learned in the divine Scriptures" to be ordained bishops by his authority. They were to proceed to China, consecrate Montecorvino "archbishop and Patriarch of the whole East", and be his suffragans (July 23, 1307).¹ Montecorvino was to be another Pope in the Far East, but he and his successors in Peking had ever to acknowledge their submission to the Roman Pontiff, and receive the pallium from him.²

With a large number of other brothers, the *seven* who were duly consecrated bishops, set out for Peking,³ and as we are informed in a letter of one of them, Andrew, bishop of Zayton (Amoy harbour), they reached Peking "in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1308, as well as I can reckon."⁴ When we say "they reached", we mean that a number of them reached China. From the letter of Andrew, from which we have just quoted a few words, it appears that no fewer than three of the bishops and many of the brothers died during the journey "in an extremely hot locality" in India. When the three bishops arrived in Peking, which cannot have been before 1309 or 10, they "according to the orders given us by the Apostolic See", duly consecrated Montecorvino Archbishop.

Among other Franciscans who somewhat later went out to work under Montecorvino, was one of the most famous of the friar-traveller authors, Odoric of Pordenone or of Friuli.⁵ He remained in Peking for three years,

¹ *Chron.* of J. Eles., ap. Gol., *ib.*, p. 94. Cf. pp. 95 and 108.

² *Ib.*, p. 95. "Tam ipse fr. Johannes quam omnes archiepiscopi Cambalienses futuri per secula Romane ecclesie subjaceant in his pactis."

³ *Ib.* From the names which can be traced, it would seem that only six set out.

⁴ He was writing in Jan., 1326. Ep. ap. Yule, iii, p. 71 ff. The original may be read in Raynaldus, *Annales*, 1326, nn. 30-1.

⁵ His story of his travels may be read in the original Latin in Marcell. da Civezza, *Storia delle Missioni Francescane*, iii, 739-81; in old French in L. de Backer, *L'extrême Orient*, p. 89 ff., and in English in Yule, *Cathay*, vol. ii.

sometime between 1323 and 1328; and then, according to the tradition of the Order, he was sent back by the great Khan to the Pope in order to obtain more missionaries. Unfortunately, however, he died at Pisa († 1331) when on his way to Pope John XXII. at Avignon.¹

Despite the fact that by 1326 all the six suffragan bishops who actually set out, except Andrew of Zayton, had died,² and despite the constant opposition of the Nestorians, considerable advance was made under the new regime. Churches were built, and many of the idolaters were baptized; though, says bishop Andrew, "many of the baptized walk not rightly in the path of Christianity."³

Three fresh Franciscan suffragan bishops had been sent out by Clement V. in 1311,⁴ but the distance between Europe and China was great; and the natural obstacles of every kind to be encountered in overcoming that distance were greatly increased by the wars constantly in progress among the Mongols themselves. Hence, seemingly, no further help from the West reached the Chinese mission.

In 1328 John of Montecorvino went the way of all flesh; and, as we are told by the Franciscan missionary traveller, John of Marignolli, who died bishop of

¹ Wadding, *Annales*, vii, p. 124; Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, iii, pp. 250 ff. and 287, and Yule, *l.c.*, p. 275, ed. 1914.

² *Ib.*

³ *Ib.* Cf. *The Book of the Estate of the Grand Cham*, ap. Yule, *ib.*, p. 89 ff., nn. 8-10. This was written about 1330, when Montecorvino was dead, and is supposed to be the work of the Dominican, John de Cora. At any rate it was the work of the Archbishop of Soltaniah, and J. de C. was named archbishop of S. by John XXII. See the diploma in Raynaldus, *ib.*, 1330, n. 57. The original of the *Livre du Grant Caan* may be read in De Backer, p. 335 ff.

⁴ See the bulls of nomination, Dec. 20, 1310, and Feb. 19, 1311, ap. Wad., *Annal.*, vi, 467 ff.

Bisignano (1357-9), he was "venerated as a Saint" by the Alans and Tartars.¹

The death of Montecorvino would appear to have been soon followed by the deaths of bishop Andrew of Zayton, and of his successor, Peter of Florence, one of the three additional suffragans sent out by Clement V. For the *Book of the Estate of the Great Cham*, which was written about 1330, speaks as though they were both dead.²

Successors of
Montecor-
vino.

When news of the death of Montecorvino reached Avignon (1333), the energetic John XXII. at once nominated as his successor a certain Nicholas, also a Franciscan,³ and sent him to China in company with twenty friars and six laymen. They were bearers of letters for the Great Khan, for the Tartar princes, and other great people whom they were likely to meet on their journey, Oct., 1333.⁴ But it would appear that these missionaries never got beyond the Middle Tartar sub-empire, that known in some Latin documents as the *Medic* Empire.⁵ A letter of Pope Benedict XII. to Chansi (i.e., Jinkshai), Lord of the Middle Tartars, dated 1338, shows Nicholas building and repairing churches in those parts, while, on the other hand, an embassy from the Great Khan himself, and a letter from some of his Christian chiefs, which also reached Avignon in 1338,

¹ See his *Recollections of Eastern Travel*, ap. Yule, iii, 215-16, new ed. The original may best be read in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, iii, p. 492 ff., ed. Prague, 1882, as the *Recollections* were first inserted by Marignolli in his *Cronica* of Bohemia. Cf. *The Book of the Estate*, n. 8, p. 101.

² *L.c.*, n. 8.

³ Sept. 18, 1333, ap. Eubel, *Bull. Francisc.*, v, n. 1037. Cf., n. 1057 of Feb. 13, 1334. In a note Eubel records that John gave Nicholas "100 gold florins as *viaticum*".

⁴ The letters in Wadding, *Ann.*, vii, 138 ff., include some to Princes in Russia and Armenia.

⁵ It was the country between Persia and Cathay (China) with its capital Armalec. It was hence called the Middle Empire, and was equivalent to Turkestan.

shows that Nicholas and his party had not yet reached China when the imperial envoys left it. The letter (about July, 1336) from Christian Alan chiefs in the Emperor's service,¹ begins by assuring the Holy Father, whom they salute, as they say, "with their heads in the dust," that "for a long time we received instruction in the Catholic faith . . . from your legate Friar John, a man of weighty, capable, and holy character. But, since his death eight years ago, we have been without a director. We have heard, indeed, that thou hadst sent another legate, but he hath never yet appeared. Wherefore we beseech your Holiness to send us a legate wise, capable, and virtuous to care for our souls. And let him come quickly, for we are here a flock without a head". They add that, on three or four occasions, papal envoys have arrived, have been well received by the Emperor, and have promised to return again with messages from the Pope, and have not done so.²

The Emperor's letter to the Pope, "the lord of the Christians," recommending his envoys, merely states that he has sent an embassy to facilitate communication "between us and the Pope".³

This embassy was well received by Pope Benedict XII.⁴ One of the envoys was attached to the Pope's guard,⁵ and after many consultations with the cardinals, Benedict sent off the Tartar envoys with a number of letters to

¹ See Marignolli's *Recollections of Eastern Travel*, ap. Yule, *Cathay*, iii, p. 210, ed. of 1914.

² Cf. the letter ap. Yule, *Cathay*, iii, p. 181 ff. The extraordinary names, "Futim Joens, etc.," of the chiefs is one reason why the authenticity of this letter has been called in question by some. But the names have been proved to be authentic, for several of them have been found in Chinese documents. *Ib.*, p. 182, n.

³ Ap. *ib.*, p. 180 f.

⁴ See his letter to Philip VI. of France, ap. Raynaldus, an. 1338, n. 73.

⁵ *Vita octava Bened. XII.*, ap. Baluze, i, p. 238 n. "Servientem armorum suorum creavit." Ed. Mollat.

the great Khan, "probably Toghon Timur Ukhagatu (1332-68)," the last Mongol ruler, to the Alan chiefs, and to other Tartar and Christian Princes (June, 1338).¹ In his letter to the Great Khan, whom he styles "Magnificent Prince, Emperor of the Emperors of all the Tartars", Benedict thanked him for the respect he had manifested to him, and for the favour he had shown the Christians in his Empire, which he begged him to continue. He, moreover, exhorted the Khan to embrace the faith of Christ, and promised to send him the envoys for whom he had asked, and from whom he could learn all the Pope wished to communicate to him.² To the Alans and the other Christians, Benedict sent a fairly detailed list of the chief articles of the Christian faith.³

In October he nominated a number of Franciscans as his envoys to the Khan.⁴ Of these, one was John of Florence, or John Marignolli, who, as we have stated, has left us various notices of his mission.

John tells us how he was sent by Benedict XII. "to carry presents and letters" to the "chief Emperor of all the Tartars, a sovereign who holds the sway of nearly half the eastern world".⁵ He set out from Avignon in December, 1338, and reached the city of the Great Khan (Cambaliech, Peking) in August, 1342. The Khan was delighted, he says, with the great horses and the other presents sent him by the Pope, and also with the letters of the Pope and King Robert "with their golden seals", and treated us with the greatest honour. John remained in Peking between three and four years, and with his companions "had many glorious disputations with the

¹ Ap. Wad., vii, 210 ff., or Raynaldus, an. 1338, n. 75 ff.

² Ep. of June 13, 1338, ap. Raynaldus, nn. 75 and 76 of the year 1338.

³ Ap. *ib.*, nn. 77-9. Cf. Huc, *Christianity in China*, i, p. 404 ff.

⁴ *Ib.*, vii, p. 214 (Oct. 31, 1338). Cf. Joan. Vitoduranus, *Chron.*, ap. Eccard, *Corpus*, i, 1852. The Chinese envoys left Avignon after July 19, 1338.

⁵ Ap. Yule, *Cathay*, iii, p. 209 f.

Jews and other sectaries, and made also a great harvest of souls in that empire". But John was not prepared to devote the whole of his life to the noble work he had begun; and so, "when the Emperor saw that nothing would induce me to abide there, he gave me leave to return to the Pope, carrying presents from him, with an allowance for three years' expenses, and with a request that either I or someone else should be sent speedily back with the rank of Cardinal, and with full powers to be Bishop there." These words would seem to prove clearly enough that when they were written Nicholas had still not arrived at Peking. Some authors, however, believe that, nevertheless, he did ultimately reach that city, as they identify him with a certain Nich-ku-lun who is mentioned in the Chinese *Ming-Shih*, a work which was concluded in 1724. The document says that "at the close of the Yuan Dynasty, Nich-ku-lun, a native of Fu-lin (the Empire in the West) came to China for trading purposes. When, after the fall of the Yuan, he was not able to return, the Emperor, T'si-tsu, who had heard of this, commanded him to his presence (1371), and gave orders that an official letter be placed in his hands for transmission to his King".¹

The letter explained the fall of the corrupt Yuan Dynasty, and the establishment of the "Great Ming" Dynasty. It concluded, "We now send Nich-ku-lun to hand you this manifesto announcing our peaceful intentions."² No doubt it is possible that this passage refers to the Franciscan bishop Nicholas; but for ourselves, we believe it refers to a trader of that name, and conclude that Nicholas never reached Peking.³

¹ See Golubovich, *Biblioteca dell' Oriente Francese*, iii, 419 ff.

² From F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 65.

³ And that, too, despite the fact that on Nov. 30, 1338, Benedict XII. addressed a letter (Etsi pastoralis, ap. Eubel, *Bull. Francisc.*, t. vi) to our "Venerable brother the archbishop of Peking" where "there are many faithful". Cf. Golubovich, *l.c.*, iv, p. 261.

Returning to the narrative of Marignolli, we note that he interrupts his narrative for a moment to advise that any such dignitary as might be sent out to oblige the Emperor should be a Franciscan, "because they are the only priests that they are acquainted with ; and they think that the Pope is always of that Order, because Pope Girolamo (Nicholas IV.) was so who sent them " John of Montecorvino.¹ During his return journey, Marignolli was robbed by a Saracen ruler of the presents which he had received for the Pope at Peking,² though he was afterwards given others for him.³

Perhaps with these latter still in his possession, he reached the court of Pope Innocent VI. in Avignon (1353), and presented to him the letter he had brought from the great Khan. In it the Khan, after averring that the Christian faith was praiseworthy, declared the Pope supreme over all the Christians in his dominions, no matter to what sect they belonged, and begged for more missionaries. John was most favourably received by the Pope, who at once dispatched a letter to the Franciscan chapter which was about to meet at Assisi, asking that suitable brethren should be set apart for the Chinese mission, and stating that he would himself consecrate some of them bishops, as the Khan was especially anxious for such.⁴

But, for some reason or other, it would appear that no fresh mission was sent to China by Innocent VI. Luke Wadding, the great Franciscan annalist, says that the reason was the internal troubles which had broken out

¹ Marignolli, *l.c.*, p. 215. He incidentally remarks that in his capacity of papal legate, he received from the Christians of St. Thomas, who were masters of the public steel yard, 100 gold *fan* (about £3 6s.) every month. *Ib.*, p. 217.

² *Ib.*, pp. 231-2.

³ *Ib.*, p. 268.

⁴ Cf. *Chron. XXIV. General.*, an. 1352, p. 548 ; Glassberger, *Chron.*, ad an. 1353, p. 187 ; and Wadding, *Annal.*, t. viii, p. 87.

in Tartary. He refers no doubt to the rising of the native Chinese against the Mongol dynasty which ended in 1368 in the establishment of the native Ming (Bright) dynasty.¹ Perhaps the reason given by the author of the *Chronicle of the XXIV. Generals* is also not beside the mark. He ascribes the failure to a lack of interest on the part of those who ought to have promoted the mission.² He does not, however, say whether the lukewarmness was on the part of the Pope or on that of the Franciscans, or on the part of all concerned. Moreover, we must not forget that between the years 1349 and 1362 occurred the three terrible Pestilences which completely disorganized the traffic of Europe, and carried off two-thirds of the whole Franciscan Order.³ At any rate, the Franciscan mission to China was near its end. We read in 1362 of the martyrdom by the Saracens in the kingdom of the Medes (the Chagatai Khanate) of brother James of Florence, "bishop of Zayton" ⁴; and in 1370 of a last effort for the conversion of China made by Pope Urban V. From a number of letters which he wrote in the March of that year,⁵ we learn that a certain brother Cosmas, who had succeeded Nicholas, the successor of John of Montecorvino, was transferred to the see of Saraï in Tartary from that of Peking (1370), and was replaced by the Parisian doctor, William of Prato.⁶ This distinguished Frenchman who had been a professor at

¹ Cf. Huc, *China*, i, 416.

² "Tamen tepescitibus hinc inde qui negotium debebant promovere, ulterius modicum est processum." *L.c.*

³ Wyngaert, *Jean de Mont Corvin*, p. 46.

⁴ *Chron.*, *l.c.*, p. 559.

⁵ See also the *Chron.*, p. 572, "P. Urbanus misit ad imperium de Cathay lætissimum dominum fratrem Gulielmum de Prato . . . quem fecit episcopum, cum aliis magistris et 60 fere aliis fratribus."

⁶ See also the letters addressed to him as "archiepiscopus Cambaliensis"; to the Great Khan, etc., ap. Wadding, *Annal. Min.*, viii, p. 222 ff., or Raynaldus, an. 1370, n. 9 ff.

Oxford,¹ was appointed by Urban chief of all the missionaries whom he was sending not merely to the Chinese, but to the Saracens, Goths, Jacobites, Nestorians, Georgians, etc. He was also made the bearer of letters to the Great Khan, and to other Tartar Princes. In his letter to the Great Khan² Urban, while begging him to receive William well, made the mistake of supposing that he was a Christian, and hence prayed that his faith might never fail.³ Unfortunately, nothing more is known of this important mission; and though the names of some successors of William de Prato in the see of Peking appear to be known,⁴ there is no evidence that either William himself or any of his successors ever visited Peking.

In their opposition to the Mongols, the Chinese turned against the Catholics whom they had favoured, and in the course of the fifteenth century destroyed them almost entirely, whilst, owing to the fearsome ravages of the terrible Tartar, Timur-Leng, or Tamerlane, it was impossible to get spiritual help to them from the West. The effort of "Pope Girolamo" was spent, but the "Society of Brothers Travellers for Jesus Christ", as the Franciscan and Dominican missionaries to the Far East were touchingly called, had covered themselves

¹ Cf. note 4, p. 572, to the *Chronicle of the Generals*.

² Still Toghon Timur Ukhagatu (1332-68 or 70), or in Chinese, Chum Ti, the last sovereign of the Yuen dynasty.

³ Ep. ap., Wad., l.c., p. 223 f., or Raynaldus, *Annales*, 1370, n. 9.

⁴ Chardin, *Les Missions Franciscaines en Chine*, p. 19, from what source I know not, gives as successors of William de Prato, Dominic, appointed in September, 1403; Bartholomew de Capponi, nominated in April, 1448; John de Pellety created in 1456, and an Alexander de Caffa, who was taken by the Turks in 1476, and died in Italy in 1483. Eubel, *Hierarchia*, i, p. 160, on the other hand, from authentic documents, names in 1410, John, bishop of Soltaniah in Persia, as administrator of the see of Peking, vacant by the death of archbishop Charles; and in 1426 and 1427 a certain Dominican, James, described as an Italian "de Capha". He was transferred to the see of Caffa in 1441. Thomas, *Hist. de la mission de Pékin*, p. 68, gives a different list.

with glory.¹ Moreover, they had brought honour to the Papacy which ever encouraged them with words of good counsel and with money, and which, by the efforts it made through them to bring about an alliance between the Mongol rulers and the Princes of Christendom, proved its political insight.²

Before Christianity was again introduced into China, Vasco de Gama had, by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, opened the path of the sea to the Celestial Empire, and had done away with the necessity of the route across Asia which in those days could, even in times of peace, only be accomplished by the strongest,³ and which, in times of war, was almost wholly impassable.

It is interesting to note, in concluding the story of the efforts made by the mediaeval Popes for the conversion of the Chinese, that, when the Jesuits entered China at the end of the sixteenth century, they were able even then to discover faint traces of the preaching of the friar travellers.⁴ Accordingly, we find Ricci declaring in letters dated July 26, 1605, and Nov. 12, 1607, that some traces of Christianity were still to be found in the provinces of Ho-nan and Shen-si.⁵

¹ Huc, *Christianity in China*, i, p. 391 ff. The painfully laborious journeys of these observant missionaries did a very great deal towards increasing the geographical knowledge of the world in which we live. They went "to announce a religion of peace, concord, and fraternity to those barbarous populations which seemed to be happy only in the midst of the horrors of war. These intrepid and zealous priests returned, sometimes after long absence, to their brethren in Europe; they related their travels and their apostolic labours, and the manners of foreign nations." *Ib.*

² *Ib.*, p. 311.

³ *Ib.*, c. vi, p. 203 ff.

⁴ Yule, *Cathay*, i, pp. 121-2; and Assemani, *Bib. Orientalis*, iii, pt. ii, pp. 536-7.

⁵ *Opera del P. Mat. Ricci, S.J.*, i, p. 469 ff., cited p. 12 in Wessels' *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, The Hague, 1924. Cf. the story of the Jesuit N. Trigault of numerous Christians in the North. He reached China just after Ricci's death. (Cited in C. H. Robinson, *History of Christian Missions*, p. 175.)

III. ABYSSINIA (ETHIOPIA)

Ethiopia
(Abyssinia).

Among the many countries to which Nicholas sent missionaries, there are reasons to believe that we must reckon Ethiopia or Abyssinia. It is, however, far from easy to write accurately about mediaeval Abyssinia, as one will, perhaps, readily concede, when he finds the Roman calling the Ethiopian an Indian¹; and some mediaeval writers placing Ethiopia in India or adjoining it²—one writer indeed making it include China³—and, when he remembers that the present Ethiopia or Abyssinia does not extend as far as the early kingdom of Ethiopia known to the ancient Egyptians. As Egypt is the land of the Lower Nile, Ethiopia was at one time the land of the Upper Nile. The traditional boundary of the former was at the first cataract of the Nile at Syene, now Assuan. Above (south) of Syene there was a comparatively short (90 miles) straight stretch of the Nile extending to Hieria Sycamminos (Wady Maharrahkah?), known as the Dodecaschoenus, generally under Egyptian, Greek, and Roman influence. South of this city, we have Ethiopia, the Kush of the Bible, the country of the black races, extending, in the fullest application of the name, to the south of the Abyssinian highlands. In this sense, "Ethiopia" includes Nubia, a country on both sides of the great

¹ Juvenal, *Sat.*, xi, 125. "Mauro obscurior Indus (the Ethiopian)." The Panegyrist Eumenius associates the Ethiopian and the Indian. Addressing Constantius Chlorus he says, n. 5, "Deut veniam trophæa Niliaca, sub quibus Æthiops et Indus tremuit." Hence an India *citerior* Ethiopia (Africa) was distinguished from an India *ulterior* or India proper; or in other cases the I.C. was southern Arabia, and the I.U., Abyssinia and India.

² "Abyssinia is contiguous to India." Cf. Abu-Salih (an Armenian, beginning of thirteenth cent.), *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, trans. by B. Evetts, Oxford, 1895.

³ The Arab geographer, Ibn Khordadbeh (ninth cent.). See Beazley, *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, i, p. 432. Cf. *ib.*, iii, pp. 151, 563.

western bend of the Nile which begins at Hiera Sycaminos, Ethiopia proper or civilized Ethiopia, or the kingdom of Meroë between the Nile and its first tributary the Atbara (Astaboras),¹ and the highland kingdom of Axum or Abyssinia, the kingdom of the Blue Nile, the second of the Nile's tributaries, which rises in its midst. "Ethiopia" also included a number of other districts inhabited indeed by black peoples, but almost impossible to locate accurately.

Speaking, then, generally, we may see that when Abyssinia stretched from the Nubian desert to the great lakes Rudolf and Stefanie, and from the Nile proper to the Red Sea, it was literally the land of the great tributaries of the Nile. Even in its present shrunk state, it is so yet to no inconsiderable extent. The last, that is the most northerly tributary of the Nile, the Atbara, is made up of the rivers Takazzé or Setit strengthened by the Mareb or Gash, both of which rivers rise in Abyssinia—the Mareb in the northern district of Tigre, and the Takazzé in the central one of Amhara. Whereas the largest Abyssinian river, the Abai, which ultimately becomes the Blue Nile and joins the White Nile, or the Nile proper, at Khartoum, is the river of the southern districts of Shoa and Godjam.² The greater part of Abyssinia consists of a plateau varying from six to seven thousand feet above the level of the sea³—a fact which goes far to explain how its people were able to maintain their Christianity and independence against the Moslem.

Even up to the great western bend of the Nile of which we have just spoken, ancient Egyptian civilization spread

¹ Hence, because between these rivers, the Kingdom of Meroë was often called "the island of Meroë".

² We owe the substance of this paragraph to Colonel Prideaux, *Abyssinia*, p. 2 f., London, 1913.

³ T. Bent, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians*, p. 16, London, 1893.

at an early period; and Usertsen III. of the Twelfth Dynasty set up at Semnah an inscribed stele setting forth that it had been erected in the eighth year of "the Majesty of the King of the South and North, giver of life for ever. No Black whatsoever shall be permitted to pass (this place) going down-stream . . . with the exception of such as come to do business . . . or an embassy."¹ In fact, "it is probable that he was master of the island of Meroë".² In any case, subsequent Egyptian monarchs pushed their way right up to the Blue Nile, and traded with the kingdom of Axum (Abyssinia), at first by land and afterwards by sea. Thus it was then by the merchant that Egyptian civilization penetrated into Abyssinia. The trade in gold, slaves, and ivory carried on by ancient Egypt with Ethiopia was continued by the Greeks under the Ptolemies, and by the Romans. Accordingly, we hear Juvenal denouncing the luxury which brought great tusks of ivory from "the gate of Syene",³ and of Nero sending an expedition to explore the Upper Nile.⁴

First
Christianity
in Ethiopia,
c. 326.

To answer the question as to when Christianity was first introduced into Ethiopia, one is naturally inclined to tell that most picturesque story of the powerful Jewish Ethiopian, the treasurer of Queen Candace, who was baptized by the deacon Philip.⁵ But the realm of Queen "Candace"⁶ was seemingly not Abyssinia. It was the

¹ This inscription, with its translation, is given by E. A. Wallis Budge, *Annals of Nubian Kings*, p. 170 f. Cf. p. xxiii, London, 1912.

² *Ib.*, p. xxiv.

³ *L.c.*

⁴ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vi, 181, cited by M. Charlesworth, *Trade Routes of the Roman Empire*, p. 249, Cambridge, 1924.

⁵ *Acts*, viii, 27 ff.

⁶ "Candace" was a royal title borne by the queens who ruled over Meroë. Cf. Ludolf, *A New Hist. of Ethiopia*, pp. 164, 247-9, London, 1862. Cf. Smith, *Dict. of Christian Biography*, art. "Ethiopian Church". The Jesuit Father Alvarez was in 1520 assured by the Negus David that the eunuch of Queen Candace had converted Tigre, the northern province of his country, and that the rest of the country

kingdom of Meroë, and it was a Nubian queen of that country and name who attacked the Roman province of Egypt, and then had to sue for peace in the days of Augustus (22-3 B.C.). Still, if the eunuch introduced Christianity into Meroë, it will have found its way by traders, captives, and the like into Abyssinia. In any case, however, it does not appear that any particular impression was made on the country by such isolated converts as may have existed there during the first three centuries of our era. Despite the Abyssinian tradition to the effect that the country owed its Christianity to Queen Candace, it seems that the real apostles of the country were Frumentius and Edesius about the year A.D. 330. Their history comes to us from Rufinus, the contemporary and sometime adversary of St. Jerome, who got his information from Edesius himself, then a priest at Tyre.¹

Meropius, a philosopher of Tyre, inspired by what he had heard of the adventures in "further India", or Abyssinia, of the philosopher Metrodorus,² set out," in the times of Constantine" (306-37) with two boys, relations of his, whom he was teaching, in order to visit the same distant land. The younger boy was named Edesius, the elder Frumentius. On his return journey, his ship put into a certain "Indian" harbour for water

had been converted by force of arms. Queen Candace, he said, had been converted ten years after the death of Christ, and since then Ethiopia had always been ruled by Christians. Consequently there had been no martyrs. Many men and women in the land had led holy lives, and had been on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. See the *Narrative*, c. 83 (*cf.* c. 39), of Alvarez, Eng. trans., p. 208, Hakluyt Soc., 1881. This tradition is accepted by L. J. Morié, *Hist. de l'Éthiopie*, ii, p. 101, Paris, 1904; but this work is anything but critical.

¹ *H.E.*, i, n. 9, ap. *P.L.*, t. xxi, p. 478 ff. The story is repeated by Socrates, *H.E.*, i, 19; Sozomen, *H.E.*, ii, 24; and Theodoret, *H.E.*, i, 23. Rufinus says his story is founded "non opinione vulgi, sed ipso Edesio . . . referente cognovimus."

² "Inspiciendorum locorum et orbis perscrutandi gratia." Ruf., *l.c.*

or some other necessity. Unfortunately for the philosopher and the ship's crew, the Romans had recently broken a treaty with the barbarians, and so, in accordance with their custom when this sort of thing happened, massacring all the Romans on whom they could lay their hands, the "Indians" slaughtered Meropius and his companions. However, finding the boys studying under a tree, they did not kill them, but took them to the King, who made Edesius his cupbearer, and ultimately entrusted Frumentius, who was more intelligent and quicker, with the care of his revenues and records. Before his death, the King gave them their freedom, but the Queen induced them to remain with her during the minority of her son. Whilst acting as regent of the kingdom, Frumentius induced the Roman Christian merchants to build churches in different parts of the country, co-operating with them in every way by granting them sites, and all that was necessary. When the heir came of age, Edesius returned to Tyre, but Frumentius, unwilling to take his hand from the plough, went to Alexandria, and asked St. Athanasius "the lately¹ consecrated patriarch" to send a suitable bishop to the Christian communities which he had formed. Rightly concluding that Frumentius himself was the most suitable person he could find, the Saint consecrated him and sent him back to Abyssinia as its first bishop. God, concludes Rufinus, is said to have given him such grace that he wrought miracles and "converted a countless number" to the faith. The native historians of Abyssinia, whatever their weight for this early period of their history may be worth, also tell of the work of Frementos or Abba Salama.² They

¹ St. Athanasius became patriarch in 326, and from his *Apologia ad Constantium*, ap. *P.G.L.*, t. xxv, p. 636, it would seem that it was between 339 and 347 that Frumentius was consecrated. Cf. Duchesne, *Églises Séparées*, p. 311, and his *Early Hist. of the Church*, iii, 398, Eng. trans.

² Cf. R. Basset, *Études sur l'hist. d'Éthiopie*, pp. 96, 220.

add that when he returned from Egypt, he found reigning in Abyssinia the brothers Abreha and Arzbeha, who are thus praised by the poetical historian of Ethiopia: ¹

“ Their lips the words of Christ’s own Gospel taught,
To build him temples with their hands they wrought.”

There is no doubt that the progress of Christianity in Abyssinia was helped by the fact that Greek was in common use at the court of the Negus. A first century author of a book of travel tells us of a king of the Axumites, one Zoscales, who was miserly, “ but otherwise upright, and acquainted with Greek literature ”.² Early Ethiopian coins bear Greek legends; and inscriptions have been found at Axum in Sabæan and Greek characters.³

As Axum and its port Adulis on Annesley Bay were the emporiums for the ivory trade, we may be sure that the advance of Christianity in Abyssinia was helped, just as its introduction had been, by Christian merchants, and that too right up to the collapse of the Roman Empire in the fifth century, and the occupation of Africa by the Vandals (429).

The religions which the Gospel had to combat in Abyssinia were a polytheism of an Arabian type and Judaism, and, as always, it made more progress among the pagans than among the Jews.⁴

The next known event of any importance in The nine
Saints,
455-95.

¹ Ludolf, *Hist. of Ethiopia*, l. ii, c. 4, Eng. trans., pp. 164-5. The Ethiopian Chronicle assigns to them the building of Axum. Ed. Basset, *l.c.*, p. 97. According to Morié, *Hist. de l'Éthiopie*, ii, p. 113, the Church of Abba-Hasabo (Abha-Hasouba) in Axum dates from the days of Frumentius.

² *The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, n. 5, p. 23, of W. Schoff's Eng. trans., London, 1912.

³ Bent. *l.c.*, pp. 176, 180, 240-1; I. Guidi, *Dictionnaire d'hist. ecclés.*, art. *Abyssinie*.

⁴ The Ethiopian chronicle, published by Basset, divides the Ethiopians of those days into Jews and serpent-worshippers. *l.c.*, p. 97.

the history of the Church of Ethiopia is the arrival of the nine saints "from Rome and Egypt". They may, perhaps, have been simple fugitives, flying from the barbarians who broke up the Roman Empire in the West; but, as we are significantly informed by the Monophysite chronicle edited by Basset¹ that "they reformed the faith", and as we know that they are greatly honoured by the Monophysite Abyssinian Church, we may safely conclude that they were teachers of that heresy come from Egypt and other parts of the Roman (Byzantine) Empire. They are said to have arrived in Abyssinia in the reign of Al-Amedâ, who reigned about 455-95. One of the most remarkable characteristics of the Abyssinians is their loyalty to Christianity, and to Alexandria whence they received their first bishop. Their loyalty to the former has enabled them to retain their faith in Christ in spite of isolation and the incessant attacks of pagans and Moslems for some fifteen hundred years, and their loyalty to the latter caused them to drift into Monophysitism. The first half of the fifth century saw the rise of the disastrous heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches, and the crumbling of the Roman Empire in the West. The one series of events infected the patriarchate of Alexandria with the "one-nature" heresy² of Eutyches, and the other isolated the Church of Ethiopia; and so not only prevented its people from knowing what was going on in the Church, but naturally weakened their intellectual hold on their recently acquired faith. The "nine Saints" reformed their faith by teaching them the heresy in which the greater number of them have remained to this day. Still the Ethiopic poet praises the concord of the Saints in working for the destruction of paganism, which, in view of the particular

¹ *Ib.*

² On this point see Neale, *Patriarchate of Alex.*, vol. ii, sect. i, p. 1 ff.

character of its worship, he calls the "kingdom of Arwê" or "of the Serpent".¹

When Africa was recovered for the Empire by the genius of Belisarius (533-4), easier communication with Abyssinia was re-established, and we begin again to know something of it. The famous Byzantine traveller, the monk Cosmas Indicopleustes (c. 545), tells us not only of the trade at Adulis² in ebony, incense, gold, etc., but that there were "in Ethiopia, in Axum, and in all the country round about" groups of Christians with bishops.³

At this period the rulers of Abyssinia were powerful sovereigns, and we read of one of them, with a formidable army, crossing over into Arabia, more than once, to avenge his fellow-Christians who were being cruelly treated by a Jewish ruler. These incidents, which took place in the reigns of the Emperors Justin and Justinian, are told with not a few variations by native writers as well as by Greek and Syriac authors. The Ethiopian monarch is called Caleb by the Abyssinians, Elesbaas

Renewed
intercourse
with
Abyssinia.

Caleb-
Elesbaas in
Arabia.

¹ Ludolf, *l.c.*, p. 255. Mr. Salt, *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, p. 466, believes "that the conquest of Arabia took place prior to the arrival of the holy men from Egypt".

² Somewhat south of the modern port of Massowah.

³ *Topog. Christ.*, l. ii, pp. 50 ff. Eng. trans. ed. McCrindle, Hakluyt Soc. Also p. 140 ff., and l. iii, p. 118 ff. Cosmas notes that from the Cataract about Syene to Axum is "thirty marches". Procopius, *De bello Pers.*, i, c. 19, n. 27, says the same "for a well-equipped traveller"; and he notes (*ib.*, n. 22, that the city of Adulis is only 20 stadia from the harbour, and "12 days" from Axum. Cosmas also gives us a piece of information which shows that, as ivory was always reaching Europe, there must always have been some vague knowledge of Abyssinia among certain European traders. He points out that the Indian elephants have poor tusks, whereas the numerous elephants of Abyssinia have great ones, and that they are exported to Arabia, Persia, the Roman territory, and even to India. One of the great Abyssinian ports for ivory is spoken of by Marco Polo. Cf. Heyd, *Hist. du Commerce*, ii, p. 429 f.

or Hellestheæus by the Greeks,¹ and Adad or Aidog by the Syrians,² and he certainly established Abyssinian rule in south-western Arabia, and thereby benefited suffering Christians (520-3).³

Ethiopic
influence in
Persia.

About this same time, too, the Ethiopians were able to help their co-religionists in Persia. Alarmed at the successful propagation of Monophysitism in that country by Simeon, metropolitan of Beth-Arsam, the Nestorian bishops persuaded the Shah Kobad (or Qawad) that the Monophysites were traitors to the Empire. Simeon and others were thrown into prison, from which they were delivered only after protests had been made by the ambassadors of the King of Ethiopia.⁴

Intercourse
with Con-
stantinople.

The power of the Negus of Abyssinia did not escape the notice of Justinian. Even if his diplomacy was not responsible for Caleb's invasion of Arabia Felix, he certainly tried to use the Abyssinians against the Persians. He tried to use their traders to divert the silk trade from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea, and to use their arms directly against the Persian troops. Both these efforts

¹ The Ethiopic poet, speaking of him as Caleb, sings of his "slaughter of the Sabeen (Homerite, S. Arabian) host", and of "Martyrs now avenged, and Christians saved". Ludolf, *l.c.*, p. 167. This author conjectures that Elesbaas is formed from the Ethiopic name for baptism, *Atzbeha*, and the Arabic article *El*.

² Cf. Morié, *Éthiop.*, ii, 144 n., for the many variations of the name of this sovereign. The work of Morié, useful for information of this sort, is not critical, and does not support its statements by any citation of authorities.

³ Cf. Assemani, *Bib. Orient.*, vol. i, p. 358 ff., quoting John "of Asia" or "of Ephesus"; Zachary of Mitylene, *Chron.*, viii, c., p. 192 ff.; Nicephorus Callistus, *H.E.*, lib. xvii, c. 6; Theophanes, *Chronog.*, pp. 260-1, 346-7, ed. Bonn; Cedrenus, *Compend. Hist.*, vol. i, p. 639, ed. *ib.*; Procopius, *De bello Pers.*, i, c. 20; Malalas, *Chron.*, lib. xviii, pp. 433-4, ed. Bonn. Cf. Basset, *l.c.*, p. 223 f.

⁴ John of Ephesus, *De beatis orientalibus*, ap. Laud, *Anecd. Syriac.*, ii, p. 76 ff., cited by Labourt, *Christ. en Perse*, p. 158; or better, ap. *Pal. Orient.*, t. 17, p. 153, ed. E. W. Brooks, Paris, 1923.

failed, but they led to diplomatic and religious intercourse between Axum and Constantinople.¹

The event which has most profoundly affected the history of Abyssinia after the introduction of Christianity was the spread of Islam. The followers of Mahomet have kept its people perpetually at war, and succeeded for ages in almost completely isolating its people from the Christian world at large. In the early days of the Prophet's teaching, some of his followers, persecuted at Mecca, fled to Abyssinia, to that land where, according to himself, "no one is wronged." They were well received by the Negus (615-16), who could not be bribed by their enemies to surrender them.²

Some ten years after this flight, the King of Ethiopia, in common with the Emperors of Byzantium and Persia, was, according to Arab tradition at least, summoned by Mahomet to acknowledge his claims as the Prophet of God (627). No notice, we are told, was taken of the summons by the last two rulers, but the Negus is said to have humbly accepted the invitation and to have expressed

¹ Cf. the embassies of Julian and Nonnosus, ap. Malalas, *Chron.*, pp. 456-9, ed. Bonn, and Procopius, *B. Pers.*, i, 20, § 9 to end; and ii, 1, § 10, and 3, § 40; and Nonnosus himself, ap. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, n. 3 or ap. vol. xiii, *Corp. Byz.*, ed. Bonn, p. 478 ff. John of Ephesus (ap. Assemani, *Bib. Or.*, i, 385) speaks of both the Ethiopians and the Homerites asking Justinian for bishops. Cf. Diehl, *Justinien*, p. 392 ff., who has best treated of this portion of Ethiopic history. A letter of a contemporary bishop, however, Simeon of Beth-Arsam (ap. Assemani *B.O.*, i, 364), would ascribe the intervention of Caleb-Elesbaas to the exhortations of the patriarch of Alexandria. We have used the French translation of this Syriac document, ap. Leclercq, *Les Martyrs*, vol. iv, p. 180 ff., Paris, 1905. In the same vol. is a translation of the Acts of the martyrdom of St. Arethas and his companions (p. 163 ff.), which led to Caleb's intervention. It must be added that the authenticity of the letter of Simeon is called in question. *Ib.*, p. 161.

² Muir, *The Life of Mohammed*, pp. 69, 86 f., 91, quoting Ibn Hishām († 828) and al-Tabari († 922).

regret at not being able to join his standard in person.¹

Moslem
invasion of
Egypt and
Nubia.

However that may be, the Saracen outburst of the middle of the seventh century which broke the power of the Persian Empire, irretrievably damaged that of Byzantium, and overran the whole north of the continent of Africa,² more or less completely cut off Abyssinia from communication with the rest of the world. The invaders were helped by the native Egyptian or Coptic population, which on national and religious grounds hated its Roman (i.e., Greek or Byzantine) rulers. The Copts, inordinately proud, as they regarded themselves as the oldest race in the world, bitterly resented the contempt with which they were regarded by the Romans, and, having for the most part embraced Monophysitism, they had another reason for hating the Romans whom they dubbed Melkites (Royalists), instead of giving them their proper title of Catholics.³ Consequently, no sooner did 'Amr and his Moslems show themselves in Egypt, than the native population "began to aid them".⁴ As time went on, the Copts suffered for their baseness in helping the infidel against their fellow-Christians. But still "the Muslims naturally favoured their allies of the national

¹ *Ib.*, p. 368 ff.; Drapeyron, *L'emp. Heraclius*, p. 321 ff., Paris, 1869. Some authors do not accept this story, which seems only to be based on Arab tradition. See A. Pernice, *L'imp. Eraclio*, p. 262, Florence, 1905; Maspero, *Hist. des Pat. d'Alex.*, p. 23.

² Egypt was invaded in 639, and Nubia in 651-2.

³ Cf. Maspero, *Hist. des Patriarches d'Alex.*, ch. ii, Paris, 1923. El-Masudi, *Meadows of Gold* (written 943), calls the Melkites "the main body, and (they) are the original Christians". Eng. trans., vol. i, p. 227, ed. Sprenger.

⁴ John of Nikion, *Chron.*, ed. Zotenberg, p. 233. According to Eutychius, Melkite (Catholic) patriarch of Alexandria (933-9), a much superior historian to Severus, the governor of Egypt, the Monophysite, "Makaukasus", betrayed Egypt to the Moslems. See his *Hist.*, ap. Migne, *P.G.L.*, t. cxi, p. 1103. On p. 1105 he tells how the Copts helped the Arabs.

or Jacobite Church, rather than the orthodox Church of Constantinople which was represented in Egypt".¹ This favour enabled the Coptic Monophysite Church to keep its hold on Abyssinia, whose Christianity was almost ruined by the subjection in which it was kept by Alexandria, and by the subdivisions of Monophysitism which found their way into it.²

When the Moslems entered Egypt, Benjamin I. was the Monophysite Coptic Patriarch (620-59); and, as the see of Axum was vacant, he sent as its *Abuna* ³ one of his partisans, Cyril.⁴ Benjamin had been acknowledged patriarch of the Coptic (Egyptian) Christians by the Moslem conqueror 'Amr; and, from a story told by the Monophysite Severus (?) it is easy to see that he had favoured the Moslem against his fellow Christians. 'Amr, he writes, promised that if he would pray that he might conquer Africa as he had conquered Egypt, "I will do all for thee what thou shalt ask me."⁵

It has been asserted that it was whilst Cyril was

¹ Lane-Poole, *A Hist. of Egypt in the Mid. Ages*, p. 26; Neale, *l.c.*, ii, p. 72 f.

² Michael the Syrian, ii, p. 251; Maspero, *l.c.*, pp. 95, 193, 289.

³ The title given to the chief bishop of Abyssinia.

⁴ Severus, bishop of Al-Ushmunain, a Coptic historian of the tenth century. His poor and inaccurate *Hist. of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, going down to about the middle of the seventh century, is published in the *Patrol. Orient.*, i and v. Its editor, Mr. B. Evetts, has given an English translation with the Arabic text. He assigns 622-61 as the date of the Patriarchate of Benjamin. It is Neale, *l.c.*, ii, p. 74, who gives *Severus* from Renaudot, p. 170, as the authority for this statement. Renaudot, however, distinctly avers that Severus knows nothing about Cyril; but quotes the Jesuit Tellez (*Hist. da Companhia de Jesus*) as his authority, who drew his information from "the books of Axum".

⁵ Ed. Evetts, *l.c.*, i, pp. 496-7. 'Amr would seem to have been as good as his word, for Severus, *ib.*, vol. v, p. 123, after stating that the Catholics (Melkites) complained that at one time all the churches were theirs, adds "but the Muslims after their conquest of Egypt handed them over to the Copts".

Abuna that monasticism was formerly introduced into Abyssinia by one Tekla-Haimanot (Plant of the faith), who was supposed to have been sent thither by Benjamin.¹ As a matter of fact, however, Tekla-Haimanot, "the founder of the order of monks of Debra Libanos, who is recognized as a Saint by the Catholic Church, did not live till the thirteenth century.² The Ethiopic tradition has it that he was ordained deacon at the age of 15 by Cyril, not the one just mentioned, but the third of that name (1225-43). He is "thrice commemorated in the calendar" of Abyssinia, and his spiritual sons, so enthusiasts say, "are as famous in the Ethiopic as the Benedictines in the Western Church".³

Relation of
Metro-
politan of
Abyssinia to
Alexandria.

We have just seen that Cyril was sent to Abyssinia as its metropolitan; and though it is generally agreed that the Abyssinians have always received their metropolitan from Alexandria, it is not easy to discover when the canonical relations between the two churches were defined. Severus, speaking of the Monophysite Patriarch Michael I. (744-68), boasts that "the patriarch of the Jacobites exercises authority over all the Kings of the Abyssinians and Nubians".⁴ And it is believed that it was in this century that the Monophysites concocted a canon which they attributed to the Council of Nicæa by which Ethiopia was not to have a patriarch, but was to be subject to Alexandria.⁵ This *canon* is embodied in the treatise on Canon Law compiled in the thirteenth

¹ Neale, *l.c.*, ii, p. 74; Ludolf, *l.c.*, p. 257.

² Cf. Bruce in his *Annals of Abyssinia*, which he gives in his vol. iii of his *Travels to Discover the Sources of the Nile*, p. 37, ed. Edinburgh, 1805. Cf. Basset, *l.c.*, p. 231.

³ Neale, *ib.*

⁴ *Hist.*, *l.c.*, vol. v, p. 146.

⁵ Mansi, *Concil.*, ii, p. 994. There is no need to quote this canon, as it is faithfully given in Ibn al-A., but it decrees that the Patriarch of Alexandria may appoint for the Ethiopians "Catholicum qui inferior Patriarcha est".

century by Ibn al-Assâl, and, under the title of "Fetha Nagast", adopted by the Abyssinians as their code of ecclesiastical and civil law. The Coptic canonist explains that it belongs to the patriarch of Alexandria to ordain for the Ethiopians a head, a bishop, and that too not one from among them, but from among his own people, i.e., from among the Egyptians. Moreover, the metropolitan so constituted may not consecrate other metropolitans as patriarchs can. He may, indeed, be honoured by the title of patriarch, but he may not have the power. And should a council be called in Greco-Roman territory, the metropolitan of Ethiopia shall occupy the eighth place, the place after the titular of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, inasmuch as he is permitted to consecrate bishops for his own country, whereas the Abuna is not allowed to do this. But it is not lawful for either group of bishops to constitute a Catholicos or Abuna.¹ It will be seen that the church of Alexandria bound that of Abyssinia hand and foot.

The canon just cited rules that the Abuna must be a Copt. When this rule was put into actual practice is, like so many other matters connected with the history of Abyssinia, uncertain. It is said, however, that this regulation was brought about by the great monk Tekla-Haimanot of whom we have just spoken, and that, when Abuna, he caused it to be made because he feared that, if

The Abuna
must be a
Copt.

¹ See the fine edition in Italian of the *Fetha Nagast* (*Legislation of the Kings*), by I. Guidi, p. 29 f., Rome, 1899. Guidi notes, p. vii, that the Nomocanone of Ibn-al-Assâl acquired great authority in the patriarchate of Alexandria, and like so many other Arab books was translated into Geez for use in the dependent country of Abyssinia. Fortescue states (*l.c.*, p. 300, note), that: "The Copts also set up a law that a Metropolitan must be ordained by twelve bishops. Then by not allowing the Ethiopians to have more than seven, they secured the right of ordaining Abuna themselves." That right was really secured by the regulation mentioned in the text. Renaudot, *Hist. Pat. Alex.*, p. 510, however, observes that, if the Abyssinians had had ten bishops, they could have consecrated a metropolitan.

Abyssinia were further isolated by ceasing its connection with Alexandria, it would fall back into paganism or into a very degenerate form of Christianity.¹ The connection resolved itself into the Abyssinians having to buy their Abuna from Alexandria,² and in its kings having to write very humble letters to the Sultan of Egypt. Thus in 1274 Icon-Amlak, wanting an Abuna "virtuous and learned, who does not love gold and silver", but who has been chosen by the Patriarch, subscribes himself as "the humblest of your slaves who kisses the ground before you . . . and whose country belongs to you".³

Relations of
Abyssinia to
Rome.

Now that we have seen what were the relations of Abyssinia to Alexandria, we must look into its relations with Rome. Before that country was led by Alexandria into schism, it was connected with Rome only indirectly through the Catholic patriarch of Alexandria. Except during a brief period in the seventeenth century, the Church of Abyssinia has never, as a whole, been directly subject to Rome.⁴ But, like some other ecclesiastical bodies to-day nearer home, it acknowledged in theory its supreme jurisdiction without concerning itself about obeying the dictates. Let us again turn to the code of the Abyssinian Church, and hear what it says on the matter. "The patriarchs," it lays down, "are the successors of Christ and his Apostles . . . and the power (dignità) of the patriarch over Christians, is like

¹ Basset, *l.c.*, p. 232; Bruce, *l.c.*, ii, p. 458.

² Cf. Alvarez, *Embassy*, c. 97. Makrizi before him had stated that the King of Abyssinia had to ask a patriarch "a rege Ægypti per litteras, quas una cum munere mittit . . . atque tunc *patricio* metropolitæ designatio demandatur". *Hist. regum Islam. in Abyssinia*, p. 4, ed. F. F. Rinck, Lugd. Batav., 1790.

³ The Sultan was Malik-Daher-Bibars. Cf. Makrizi (1378-† 1441), *Hist. des Sultans*, i, pt. ii, p. 122, ed. Quatremère. Cf. Nowāiri cited *ib.*, and Bruce, *Travels*, iii, p. 37 ff.

⁴ On paper at least, the Abyssinian Church was united to Rome in the fifteenth century. See *infra*.

the principate of Moyses over the Israelites." Now, because there are four Gospels, four rivers of Paradise, four seasons, etc., the Fathers of the Council of Nicæa¹ decreed that there should be in the world but four patriarchs, "and that the head and Prince of these should be he who holds the see of Peter at Rome, as the Apostles themselves ordered." The second is the holder of the see of St. Mark, Alexandria, the third is the holder of the see of Ephesus, that of St. John the Evangelist; the fourth is the holder of the see of Antioch, which is also a see of Peter. However, continues the code, the patriarchate of Ephesus has been transferred to Constantinople "to honour the Empire and the Priesthood (sia onore del Regno e del Sacerdozio)".² The code goes on to declare that the power of the patriarch is like that of a father over his sons; and, as the patriarch has power (imperio e potestà) over those who are subject to him, so the patriarch of Rome has power over all the other patriarchs, because he is the head, just as Peter had power over all the heads of the Christians (i.e., according to a gloss "over the Apostles"), and the community of Christian men, over the faithful,³ because he is the Vicar of Christ our Lord over his people and his churches.⁴

¹ No. 37 of the Arabic canons.

² P. 27 ff. of Guidi's *Fetha Nagast*. Cf. Ludolf, who says (p. 307) that, of the four patriarchs, the Abyssinians "reckon the Roman patriarch to be the first and call him *Bik Papaste Zaromeia* or the Roman Prince or Master of the Metropolitans. For they have no higher title (than *Bik Papaste*) to give to anyone who may be thought superior to a patriarch. Alvarez, too, *Embassy*, c. 114, p. 311, ed. Stanley, says that they named the bishop of Rome "Rumea Negus, ligne Papaz", "which means the King of Rome and Head of the Popes."

³ The gloss adds "over the seventy disciples".

⁴ The *F.N.*, p. 30. Cf. *ib.*, p. 530 ff. on the power of the patriarch who can add or take away "as he judges advantageous at the moment". The limitations of his power are discussed in the pages quoted, and also p. 31 ff.

The Coptic
Patriarch in
trouble,
686-9.

Returning to the realm of facts, we experience the greatest difficulty in finding even the smallest scraps of information about early mediaeval Abyssinia. This is the less to be wondered at when we are told that there is not a single known Abyssinian document which can be ascribed to any date between the eighth and twelfth centuries.¹

However, before the fatal seventh century had passed, we have further evidence of communication between Alexandria and Abyssinia. During the patriarchate of Isaac (686-9) a war was going on between the Ethiopians and Nubians. Thereupon the patriarch sent letters to the Negus exhorting him to peace. This act, according to Severus, made him suspect by the Moslem Governor of Egypt, Abd-el-Aziz. He caused the patriarch to be seized. Thereupon, to use the words of the historian just quoted, "the (patriarch's) secretaries wrote out letters different from the patriarch's letters, and gave them to the messengers whom he had sent to the Abyssinians, taking the first letters from them. This they did only lest evil should befall the Church." When the new letters were taken, the Governor was satisfied, because "he found nothing in them of what had been told him".² As Abd-el-Aziz is known to have persecuted the Christians, it looks as if the patriarch had written to ask the help of the Negus.

Subservience
of Simon.

However this may be, the history of his successor Simon (689-701) shows how dependent on and subservient to the Moslem rulers the Coptic patriarchs had already become. Without going into the details of Simon's election,³ we may observe that the consent of the Moslem governor of Egypt was the deciding factor in it, and

¹ C. Conti Rossini, "Egitto ed Etiopia nei tempi antichi e nell'età di mezzo," p. 15, in the review *Ægyptus*, April, 1922, Milano.

² Severus, *l.c.*, vol. v, pp. 24-5.

³ They may be read ap. Neale, *l.c.*, ii, p. 83 f.

proceed to translate from the narrative of Severus an episode in his patriarchal career which proves his subservience to the governor. Some "Indians", or, as we are told in another place, "a black Indian who was a monk and a priest" came to Simon to ask for a bishop for their country. This "black Indian", as the Ethiopian is not infrequently called at this period, may have been a Nubian¹ or an Abyssinian. The reply of Simon was, "I cannot ordain a bishop for you without the command of the Emir who is governor of the land of Egypt."²

In this dark period of Abyssinian history, it will be seen that the only rays of light that fall upon it come from the Coptic Church; and, from the patriarchate of Simon, we have to wait more than a hundred years before we can glean another fact about Ethiopia. In the year 826 the patriarch Jacob consecrated one John as Abuna. In some way, whilst the King of Abyssinia was at war, John earned the enmity of a party at the head of which was the Empress. He fled the country, and retired to the monastery in Egypt from which he had been taken to be made Abuna. However, when the Negus returned from the wars, and found an intruder Abuna, he sent to Alexandria to beg that John might be sent back. But opposition to him was reawakened, and the people declared that they would never obey an uncircumcised Abuna. It was only when it was discovered that John had, as a matter of fact, been circumcised in his youth that his position was recognized.³

¹ Eutychius states (ap. *P.G.L.*, t. iii, p. 1122) that the Nubians got their bishops from the Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria, and that "from that time Nubia embraced the doctrine of the Jacobites".

² Severus, *l.c.*, v, pp. 36 and 40. Cf. Ibn-Rahib (c. 1257), *Chron. Orientale*, p. 86, who adds that the envoy went off "to another" who complied with his wish (this "other" may have been the Catholic (Melkite) patriarch.) (Ed. Abraham Ecchellensis, Venice, 1729.)

³ Makrizi († 1441), *Khitat*, ii, p. 494, ed. Boulaq, cited by Basset, *l.c.*, p. 227, and Neale, ii, pp. 146, 150, 177. Ibn-Rahib, *Chron. O.*, p. 91 f., says nothing of the circumcision story.

Intrigue
about the
Abuna John.

Dynastic
revolution in
Abyssinia.

It was, at a very early period, the belief of the Emperors of Abyssinia that they were the descendants of King Solomon, through the Queen of Sheba. Whatever truth there may have been in their traditional belief in this matter, some time in the early part of the tenth century, Del Na'ad of this dynasty of *Solomon* was deprived of his imperial power by a faction headed by Judith, or Esther, the chieftainess or queen of the Jewish independent tribe on Mount Samen. The royal princes were murdered, but Del Na'ad himself escaped to the province of Shoa where he contrived to keep his independence. Bitter persecution of the Christians, and destruction of their churches followed the accession of the Jewess.

Fortunately, however, Judith and her family were not able to keep possession of imperial power for long. It was soon seized by a Christian family, that of the Zagues.¹ It would appear to have been just before these dynastic troubles that the patriarch Cosmas III. (925-37) sent a monk, Peter, as Abuna. This consecration of a metropolitan for Abyssinia is described by the biographer of Cosmas as "a wonderful event".² The new Abuna was received with the greatest honour by the Negus, over whom he acquired such influence that, on his death-bed, he authorized him to bestow the crown on either of his two sons. Peter selected the younger son. Of this act two vagabond Coptic monks, Menas and Victor, whom he had in some way annoyed, availed themselves. By forged letters which they professed to have received

¹ The Chronicle, published by Basset (p. 98 ; cf. p. 227) says, indeed, that the imperial power was taken from Del Na'ad, but it does not say by whom. It adds that the said power was afterwards "given to others who were not Jews ; they are the Zagues." The author proceeds to give, "as we have learnt them from men instructed in the law," the names of eleven rulers of this dynasty, and to say that their joint reigns occupied 354 years.

² Ap. Le Quien, *Oriens. Christ.*, ii, 648.

from the patriarch of Alexandria, they persuaded the elder brother that Peter was merely an impostor. He thereupon rebelled, dethroned his brother, and named Menas Abuna. When, however, the patriarch, having discovered the fraud, excommunicated Menas, the king put him to death. Then, as Peter had died in the meantime, he forced one of his disciples to act as Abuna. He would not, however, allow him to go to Alexandria for consecration, so that it would seem that neither he nor Menas was consecrated. The king who thus outraged the rights of the patriarch was Del Na'ad.¹

The Jewish intruders who followed him naturally did not want an Abuna; but the first ruler of the Zagæan line, Mara-Takla-Haïmanot, about the beginning of the eleventh century, applied as usual to the Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria for one. His application was made through George, King of Nubia, to whom he wrote a letter, of which a part is still extant. He pointed out how cruelly the country, the churches, and religion had suffered during the days of the intruders. They had no Abuna, and their bishops and priests had died off. King George passed on the letter, which was received by the simoniacal patriarch Philotheus (979-1003). He accordingly consecrated Daniel, a monk of St. Macarius, metropolitan of Axum; and, in the words of the ancient Abyssinian hagiographer, "Ethiopia breathed once more."²

Philotheus was succeeded as Coptic patriarch by Zacharias (1005), of whom an item of information has been preserved which shows with what difficulty

The Abunas,
Abdun and
Severus.

¹ Michael of Tanis (eleventh century) the continuator of Severus, ap. Renaudot, *l.c.*, pp. 336-41; cf. Neale, *l.c.*, ii, p. 178 ff.; Basset, *l.c.*, p. 227 f.; Assemani, *Chron. Orient.*, p. 141. It would appear that Ludolf's account of the Jewish intruders and the Zagæan line (bk. ii, c. 5, p. 168 f.) must be corrected by the above-named authors. But all is dark in Ethiopia!

² Renaudot, *Hist. Pat.*, *l.c.*, pp. 381-3; Basset, p. 228; Neale, ii, pp. 197-8, citing Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.*, ii, p. 650; Assemani, *l.c.*

communication, ecclesiastical or secular, was maintained between the Coptic and Abyssinian Churches. Writing at the beginning of the thirteenth century, Abu-Salih declares that "the fathers and patriarchs (Coptic) used to write letters to the Kings of Abyssinia and Nubia twice in the year". The last, he continues, to do this was the sixty-fourth patriarch Zacharias; for that criminal lunatic el-Hakem (996-1021) "forbad the practice which ceased from that time till now".¹

If, notwithstanding, from this time a little more information has reached us about the relations between Axum and Alexandria, it is still confused, and reveals not a small proportion of unworthy occupants of both sees. We find the simoniacal patriarch Christodulos (Abd-el-Messiah, 1047-77) prepared to recognize one Cyril or Abdun, who had intruded himself unconsecrated into the metropolitan see of Abyssinia²; but under Cyril the successor of Christodulos, Abdun was driven from his position, and ultimately beheaded at Cairo through the exertions of a certain Severus. This young man had secured episcopal consecration from Cyril through the influence of the Moslem vizir which he had gained by money and by promising to bring the Abyssinians under the yoke of the Caliph! Once in possession of the position of Abuna which he had coveted, Severus would appear to have conducted himself better than might have been expected. At any rate, he strove to stem the practice of concubinage widely indulged in by all the Abyssinians, and in a letter seen by Mauhub, one of the continuators of the history of Severus, he begged the patriarch to help him in his efforts. On the other hand he made himself hated by the Abyssinians by his efforts to build mosques for the Moslems.³

¹ *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, p. 290. Trans. Evetts.

² Basset, *ib.*; Neale, ii, 221-2; Assemani, p. 143.

³ Renaudot, *l.c.*, p. 461 f.; Basset; Neale, pp. 224, 229; Ass., p. 144.

After another wicked patriarch, Michael (or Chail) IV.,¹ had sent another iniquitous monk (George) to be Abuna (1102),² the reigning Negus begged his metropolitan³ to increase the number of bishops so that there would be at least ten, and they could then constitute a metropolitan of their own. This the Abuna declared he could not do without the leave of the patriarch of Alexandria. To obtain this permission, the Negus wrote to the patriarch Gabriel III. (1131-46), and also to the Fatimite Caliph, El-Hafiz. The Moslem first showed himself favourable to the request, but the patriarch caused him to change his mind by pointing out to him that he would lose what hold he had on Ethiopia, if the petition were granted. "Thus," concludes Neale, "ignorance and heresy were riveted on its unfortunate people."³

A move for
freedom,
1131-46.

The most outstanding figure of the Zagæan dynasty was Lalibala (the Lion), whose reign may safely be referred to the beginning of the thirteenth century. He also at first received an unworthy Abuna (Kilus, bishop of Fua),⁴ who was expelled by the people for his cruelty and avarice (c. 1209).⁵ Lalibala is remarkable as the builder of the eleven famous rock-churches of Abyssinia. With the aid of "white men" from Egypt, for, says Alvarez, the Abyssinians well know that they cannot

Lalibala,
thirteenth
century.

¹ Basset, p. 229; Neale, ii, 235 f.; etc.

² Michael or Chail sent out by the patriarch, Macarius II. (1102-29).

³ P. 248. Cf. Ass., p. 148.

⁴ Writing in 1203, Abd Allatif, of Baghdad, who had a relative in Abyssinia, says that in August, 1200, there came to the Caliph of Egypt an ambassador from the sovereign of Abyssinia, with a letter notifying the death of the patriarch of the Abyssinians, and asking for another to be sent in his stead. The letter also stated that the rains had been but scanty that year, and so the rise of the Nile had been small, *Relation de l'Égypte*, p. 334, ed. Silvestre de Sacy, Paris, 1810.

⁵ The continuator of Severus, ap. Renaudot, pp. 562-3, B., p. 229 f., and N., ii, p. 275 ff. The successor of Kilus was a monk, Isaac, of the laura of St. Anthony, and according to Assemani in his notes to Ibn-Rahib, he was consecrated in 1209, *Chron. Or.*, p. 150.

“do any well executed work”,¹ he excavated complete churches, with columns, arches, and windows with tracery out of the living rock, just as one sees at Les Baux.² The king himself lies buried not in the church which bears his name, but in one known as Golgotha. In another named Abba Libanos, built by the widow of Lalibala, is an outline portrait of the famous king. The Abyssinians were evidently attached to their rock churches, for an anonymous German chronicler tells us that beneath Mount Calvary they cut out of the hard solid rock a chapel in honour of the Three Kings. But *now*, he adds (writing between 1364 and 1379), the Moslems, through envy, have blocked up the entrance to it with stones.³ To Lalibala, too, is attributed the idea of diverting the course of the Nile so as to ruin Egypt,⁴ and later writers go so far as to assert that the Caliph of Egypt paid tribute to the Negus in order that he might not “shut off the waters and cause Egypt to perish”.⁵

It is supposed to be the first or second successor of Lalibala, who under the advice of the famous Abuna,

¹ See the Jesuit Alvarez's *Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Abyssinia* (1520-7), p. 130.

² Alvarez, *l.c.*, p. 122 ff. Cf. Castanhoso, *The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia* (1541-3), p. 95, ed. R. S. Whiteway who, on p. 99 ff., gives a valuable note on these wonderful churches. He says that each church is a monolith, and that the largest measures, outside, 110½ feet by 77½ feet.

³ Ap. Golubovich, *Bib. della T. Santa*, ii, p. 152.

⁴ The Egyptians told the Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, in 1168, that the flooding of the Nile was due to rains in Abyssinia, and indeed such is the fact. P. 72, ed. Adler. B. also notes (*ib.*, p. 76) that Abyssinian merchants traded in Alexandria, and had an inn of their own in the city. About the Nile, see Bruce, *Abys.*, ii, p. 454 ff.

⁵ Cf. The traveller Marignolli (1338-53), orig. text ap. Golubovich, *l.c.*, iv, p. 275; English trans., with interesting note in Yule, *Cathay*, iii, p. 223. Cf. Makrizi, *A Short Hist. of the Copts*, p. 93, trans. by S. C. Malan, London, 1873. It is n. 3 of his “Original Documents of the Coptic Church”.

Tekla-Haimanot, yielded up the imperial power to a descendant of Del Na'ad, and so restored the dynasty of Solomon (1268).¹

Our brief survey of the history of the Church in Ethiopia has brought us down to that wonderful thirteenth century in which such great progress was made not only in philosophy, theology, and art, but in practical knowledge of the earth on which we live. The Crusades had riveted the gaze on each other of East and West, they had caused greater attention to be given by the Western to the land and sea routes to the East, and they had expanded the field of commerce. The Western merchant proved himself as enterprising and as daring as the Western knight, and if the latter captured Moslem territory, the former captured much of his trade.² Matthew of Paris declares that Frederick II. was "friendly with all the Sultans of the Orient" and that his trading agents (*institores*) went even to India.³ Among his guards, too, we are told, there were Ethiopians as well as Saracens.⁴ At the same period Germanus II., the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, knew of the "Ethiopians who dwell on the confines of the Orient—in *prima parte Orientis*".⁵ Travellers, like Marco Polo, began to describe Abyssinia, and to tell of its Christian ruler and of some of its religious customs.⁶ "Nubians" and "immense numbers" of Abyssinians, in the thirteenth century, went on pilgrimages to Jerusalem, etc.⁷ Their centre in Jerusalem was the famous "white monastery" of Scenuti. Already, about the year 1187, Saladin had granted the Abyssinians a site in Jerusalem near that of

European
knowledge of
Abyssinia in
the
thirteenth
century.

¹ *Chron.*, p. 98, ed. Basset. Cf. *ib.*, pp. 231–2; Bruce, *Abyssinia*, vol. ii, p. 457 f., ed. 1805.

² Cf. Beazley, *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, ii, p. 462 n.

³ *Chron. maj.*, v, p. 217, R. S.

⁴ *Supra*, vol. xiii, p. 251.

⁵ Mat. Par., C.M., iii, p. 460.

⁶ *Travels*, Lib. iii, c. 38, al. 39.

⁷ *ib.*

the Copts.¹ The Crusader, Robert de Clery, in 1204, tells of the arrival in Constantinople of "the King of Nubia", i.e., no doubt, Abyssinia, who had been on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and was on his way to Rome and to St. James of Compostela. He was black, and, says Robert, he explained that the cross that was branded on his forehead had, in accordance with the custom of his country, been done when he had been baptized.² This custom is alluded to by Marco Polo,³ and many subsequent travellers, and is no doubt referred to in the Abyssinian Code, the *Fetha Nagast*.⁴ Christian merchants who went to Alexandria and Cairo must have come into contact with Abyssinians in these places. In the twelfth century (1168), the Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, found Abyssinian merchants with an inn of their own in Alexandria,⁵ and we read of Coptic patriarchs being

¹ So says Rossini, p. 17, in "Egitto ed Etiopia" in *Ægyptus* of 1922, quoting H. Duensing, "Die Abessinier in Jerusalem" in *Zeitschr. des Palästina-Vereins*, 1910, pp. 100-1.

² *La Prise de Constantinople*, c. 54, p. 45, ed. C. Hopf, *Chron. Gréc.-Rom.* "Si vint illueques un rois qui toute avoit le char noire, et avoit un enmi le front, qui li avoit este faite d'un caut fer, etc." We say "Abyssinia" here because "Nubia" had become largely Moslem about 1145. Cf. Alvarez, *Embassy*, c. 79. Alvarez, *ib.*, cc. 83, 127-8, found that the pilgrimage to Jerusalem was a tradition with the Ethiopians. It is, as we have just noted, generally stated that Nubia lost its independence and became Moslem about the middle of the twelfth century. This statement is, however, not true for all Nubia. Makrizi, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, ii, pt. i, p. 108, states that Semamun, King of Dongola, was still independent in 1290. Moreover, Abdorrashid, known as Yakuti (Bakui) in his *Géographie* (ed. de Guignes, ap. *Notices et extraits des MSS.*, vol. ii, p. 396), calling Nubia, a vast country south of Egypt, and east and west of the Nile, says that its numerous inhabitants are Christians, and that they have a king whom they call Kabil. He also speaks of Dancala (Dongola), "a great city of Nubia on the Nile where the people are Jacobite Christians," p. 399. The *Géog.* was drawn up in the fifteenth century.

³ *L.c.*

⁴ When it says, p. 528, that the Ethiopians and Nubians tattoo the face.

⁵ P. 76, ed. Adler.

buried at Cairo "in the Church of the Abyssinians",¹ and of there being in that city a barracks of Abyssinian guards, and Abyssinian monks and others.²

Accordingly, when, fired by the example of their glorious founder, the Franciscans wished to go everywhere to convert the infidel or to win from him the crown of martyrdom, it is not surprising to find that some of them should want to go to Abyssinia where there were many Moslems, and not a few pagans as well as schismatical Christians. Their desire was granted, and Innocent IV. sent both Franciscans and Dominicans not only to Nubia but also to the country of the Ethiopians.³ It is, moreover, asserted that Alexander IV.,⁴ Nicholas III. and IV.,⁵ Innocent V., Clement IV. and V., Urban IV., Boniface VIII.,⁶ Benedict XI., and John XXII. "all wrote letters to the Emperor of Ethiopia."⁷ At any rate, in the very first year of his pontificate, Nicholas IV. began to take steps to bring back the Abyssinians to the one fold of Christ, and in the following year we see him addressing a letter "to the illustrious Emperor of Ethiopia". He explained to him that, inasmuch as, though unworthy, he occupied the place of Christ on earth, it was his duty to strive that all should enter heaven by the way established by Christ, i.e., by the way of the

Popes send
Friars into
Abyssinia,
1245 ff.

¹ *Chron. Orient.*, pp. 96, 99, and Michael of Tanis, ap. Assemani, *ib.*, p. 142.

² Assemani, *ib.* See also *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, p. 87, of the Armenian Abu-Salih, thirteenth century, trans. by B. Evetts, Oxford, 1895.

³ *Reg. Inn. IV.*, nn. 1362, 7753, letters addressed to the friars in the lands "Ethyopum . . . Nubianorum, etc."

⁴ See the bull of Alex. IV. (Apr. 19, 1258, ap. Wadding, *Annal.*, iv, p. 84), granting various privileges to the Franciscans working in Bulgaria, *Ethiopia*, etc.

⁵ *Reg. Nich. IV.*, n. 611, Sept. 3, 1288.

⁶ *Reg. Bonif. VIII.*, n. 3355.

⁷ Such, says Beazley, *Dawn of Mod. Geog.*, iii, p. 497, is the statement of Nicolo Fortignera to Benedict XIII. (1394-1417).

Catholic faith, which the Roman Church ever guarded. The Emperor was therefore exhorted to work for union with that Church.¹ Similarly, the Archbishop (Abuna), bishops, and people of Abyssinia, were invited to enter the unity of the Catholic Church.² Just two years later, his register shows that Nicholas was still working for the return of Ethiopia to the communion of the Roman Church.³

If any results followed these efforts of Nicholas IV., no John of Piano Carpini has given us any account of them. Some modern writers, indeed, unduly sceptical, believe that with the Popes of the thirteenth century there is question of "Asiatic", and not of African Ethiopia. However that may be, it would appear that in the fourteenth century, at any rate, the Popes in their letters about Ethiopia, referred to African Ethiopia or Abyssinia. That country is assigned its proper position on the map of Marino Sanudo which appeared in the first quarter of that century.⁴ He knows "of the Christian blacks of Nubia and of other countries beyond upper Egypt"; that they were Jacobites, and that before baptism they were branded on the forehead—some with the sign of the cross.⁵ The zealous Dominican missionary, Jordan of Séverac, had often talked about this interesting land "with Latin merchants".⁶ They

¹ Ep. July 11, 1289, ap. Wadding, *Ann.*, v, p. 201.

² *Reg. Nich. IV.*, nn. 2218–39, Potth., n. 23002.

³ *Reg.*, n. 6735, Aug. 13, 1291.

⁴ Printed ap. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Tab. i, Abyssinia (Habesae et terra nigrorum) is correctly placed in connection with the Red Sea, the Nile, Aden, Lower Ethiopia, Nubia, etc.

⁵ See his *Secreta fidelium Crucis*, ap. *ib.*, vol. ii, pp. 36, 184–5. Cf. p. 261.

⁶ See two letters of his, one from Gogo, a port of Gujarat (Oct. 12, 1321), ap. Echard, *Script. Ord. Praed.*, i, 550, and the other from Tana near Bombay (Jan. 24, 1323–4) in Wadding, vi, 359 ff. English versions of them may be read in Yule, *Cathay*, iii, p. 75 ff., ed. 1914. In his *Mirabilia*, p. 89, ed. Cordier, 1925, he says he has seen and known many of the people of Ethiopia.

had assured him that "the way to Ethiopia was open for anyone who wished to go and preach there", and he himself had prayed that he might not die till he had been "a pilgrim for the faith in those regions".¹ A year or two later, Jordan again returns to the subject of Ethiopia, and declares that it was a very suitable place for some friars to be sent to.² But it is in his *Mirabilia* that he sets forth in detail what he had heard of gold-bearing Ethiopia, of its people "wholly Christian but heretical", and of its mighty Negus who ruled over fifty-two kings, and was the real Prester John.³ Another Dominican, William of Adam († 1329), who knew "the true Ethiopia", beyond the mountains opposite Eden,⁴ and had been in the island of Socotra for some time, also wished to preach the faith in Ethiopia (1317),⁵ for he was, he said, full of compassion for so great a people who were totally cut off "from the knowledge of our contemporaries".⁶ William's promotion to the archiepiscopal see of Sultanieh (Oct. 6, 1322)⁷ prevented him from putting his wish into execution.

¹ The first letter.

² The sec. letter "Et secundum audita, via esset gloriosa per fidei dilatationem".

³ The *Mirabilia* has been published in the *Recueil des Voyages*, vol. iv, 1839, and an English translation of it by Yule (Hakluyt Society, 1863), Jordan and Marignolli (ap. Yule, *Cathay*, iii, p. 223) were the first to make the mistake of locating Prester John in Africa instead of in Asia. The mistake had been prepared for them as it was current in Egypt that "all the Kings of Abyssinia are priests". Abu-Salih, *Churches of Egypt*, p. 286.

⁴ See his "De modo Saracenos extirpandi", ap. *Recueil des histor. des Croisades, Docs. Armén.*, vol. ii, p. 549, Paris, 1906. This valuable pamphlet is analysed in Delaville de Roulx in his *France en Orient*, i, p. 70 ff.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 555.

⁶ P. 551. Cf. the very valuable work of C. B. de la Roncière, *La découverte de l'Afrique au moyen âge*, 2 vols., Cairo, 1925.

⁷ See the bull of John XXII. printed by C. Kohler, "Documents relatifs à S. Adam," ap. *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 1905, p. 29 ff.

John XXII. sends friars to Abyssinia. It would seem, then, that if the Friars did not penetrate into Abyssinia in the days of Nicholas IV. they did in the days of John XXII. (1316-34), in whose time Jordan was praying that it might fall to his lot to preach there. It is said that in 1316, eight Dominicans, "having kissed the feet of Pope John XXII." and visited the Holy Land, after a long and toilsome journey through Egypt and Nubia, reached the Ethiopians and Abyssinians.

Among these, they reconciled many to the Church. They even enrolled some of the converts, including one of the princes, in their Order, and to keep the converts in the faith, even appointed the royal friar as Inquisitor.¹

John XXII. sends a letter to the Negus, 1329. Encouraged by the reports which he received from different parts of the mission field, Pope John XXII. backed up the missionary enterprise of the friars with all his wonted energy. Wadding assures us that, in the year 1329, he sent a large number of Franciscans and Dominicans to Georgia, Persia, and other countries, and also to Ethiopia.² He addressed a letter to the Negus of Abyssinia, exhorting him to enter the one fold of Christ, and to place himself and his people under its one shepherd. He wished him that "grace now which leads to future glory".³ The sovereign to whom this letter was addressed must have been Amda-Syon (1312-42), a man of grossly sensual habits,⁴ but valiant and generous. Accordingly, when under the Mameluke Sultan, Nasir, the Christians of Egypt were badly persecuted,⁵ he did not hesitate to

¹ Cf. Fontana, *Monument. Dominic.*, p. 172, Rome, 1675. He refers to L. de Paramo, *De S. Inquisitione*, tit. 2, c. 19.

² *Annales*, ad an. 1329, n. 11.

³ *Ib.*, vol. vii, 103; Raynaldus, an. 1329, n. 98 ad fin. Neither of these authors gives the actual text of the letter to the Negus, but the latter says it was of the same import as that addressed to the Emperor of Trebizond, which is given by Wadding, *l.c.*, p. 100.

⁴ See the Ethiopian chronicle, ap. Basset, *l.c.*, pp. 99, 100, or Bruce, vol. iii, p. 41.

⁵ Cf. Muir, *The Mameluke Dynasty*, p. 74.

threaten reprisals, and to stop the overflow of the Nile.¹ What effect the threats of Amda may have produced is not known ; but we do know from Makrizi,² that the Caliphs of Egypt kept always under arms a body of men to resist attacks from the Abyssinians as well as from the Nubians and Negroes. Certainly among the Egyptians of this period there was a wholesome respect for the power of the Negus. They regarded him as " the fourth of the Kings of the earth, and no King on earth is strong enough to resist him ".³

Circumstances during the reign of Amda-Syon were favourable to Catholic missionaries. The saintly Abuna Takla-Haimanot († c. 1282) had recently reformed monasticism in Abyssinia ; and we read in the Ethiopic annals that his spiritual son enrolled in its ranks a number of men, whom they designate as " stars " and who reflected great credit on the monastic life.⁴ Such men would welcome the zealous friars, while they must have regarded with horror the corrupt state of the Coptic Church. Of this we may form some idea from Makrizi's description of the " Feast of Martyrs ", which was so disreputable that, for a time (1302-38), it was even stopped by the Moslems. According to this writer, the Copts believed that there would be no satisfactory overflow of the Nile unless they dipped into it a relic case containing the finger of a certain martyr. This ceremony took place on April 8, " the feast of the Martyrs," and was made the occasion of a great fête. The whole Coptic population from Cairo and the district round flocked to the banks of the Nile at Choubra, a suburb of the city, set up tents, and for days shamelessly abandoned

¹ Makrizi, *Mém. sur l'Égypte*, ii, p. 275, ed. Quatremère, ap. Basset, p. 233.

² *Descript. de l'Égypte*, p. 76, ed. W. Bouriaut, Paris, 1895.

³ Abu-Salih, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, p. 286.

⁴ Ed. Basset, p. 99.

themselves to every form of vice. As much as a hundred thousand dirhems of silver would be spent on wine alone, and the people of Choubra reckoned to make as much profit on its sale as to pay all their taxes. But at length, in 1355, the Moslem authorities, having destroyed the Church where it was kept, publicly burnt the finger, and "from that day to this", concludes Makrizi, "the Feast of the Martyrs has—to God be glory—never again been celebrated."¹

Bishop Bartholomew of Tivoli.

It was during the temporary suspension of the Feast of the Martyrs, and during the pontificate of John XXII., that the Dominican friar, Bartholomew of Tivoli, was consecrated in Rome bishop of Dongola, the then chief city of Nubia. Before proceeding to his destination, Bartholomew, with two other Dominican priests, went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (1330). We have just seen other missionaries for Abyssinia doing the same; and it may be that they went to Jerusalem, not only to confirm their faith, but to meet there "men from Ethiopia who are blacker than charcoal".² With information obtained from them, Bartholomew and his companions set out for Egypt, and after much fatigue and suffering, they at length reached Abyssinia. There, we are told, they converted many infidels, and brought back many Christians to their duty. They ordained priests, and built

¹ *Descript. de l'Égypte*, c. 22, p. 194 ff. It is only fair to remind the reader that this scene is painted by a Moslem.

² *Viaggio in terra santa* (1395), p. 43, ed. F. Z., Bologna, 1867. Cf. the testimony of Friar James of Verona in 1335, *Liber peregrinationis*, ap. Golubovich, *Bib. dell' Oriente*, iv, p. 33, where, speaking of the different Christian bodies that said Mass in the basilica of the Valley of Josaphat, he enumerates the Nubians and Abyssinians "who are black, like the Nubians". Cf. *ib.*, p. 21, for their presence in Jerusalem. Cf. pp. 237–8. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, too, the worthy Russian archimandrite, Grethenios, politely records as present in Jerusalem, besides "the orthodox Greeks", also "the accursed . . . Latins . . . Abyssinians, etc." Cf. Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, p. 173, Geneva, 1889,

and repaired churches. Further, "to render more lasting his labours among the Abyssinians of Ethiopia—a country ruled by the Emperor 'Gran Neguz', wrongly called Pretegianni (Prester John)—Bartholomew built a famous convent called *Alleluia*, because Angels were often heard singing Alleluia whilst it was being built."¹ It is said that this monastery became very famous, and that in the sixteenth century it was visited by a son of the Sultan of Fez and Morocco, when on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He was so edified by the piety of the religious that he became a Christian, and then a Dominican, and, says the authority we are quoting, was still alive in 1606.²

During the pontificate of John XXII., the prospects of universal diffusion of the faith were most hopeful. With missions all over Asia even to China, and in Africa even to Ethiopia, the supreme pontiff was then indeed recognized even to the ends of the earth. The "Society of friars travellers for Jesus Christ" had been organized under a special head,³ and more system had been introduced into their work. But, unfortunately, before the close of the century, their heroic labours were nearly all undone. In China, their missions were destroyed by the overthrow of the Mongol dynasty; in Asia by the ravages of the terrible Tamerlane; and in Ethiopia by an accentuation of the perennial difficulty of communication. This increased difficulty of intercourse with Ethiopia was one of the results of the terrible Black Death which swept over Europe, Asia, and Africa in

Mission from
the Negus to
the Pope,
1351.

¹ Such are the words of the Dominican, F. M. Cavalieri, in his *Galleria dei Sommi Pontefici, arcivescovi, etc.*, i, p. 137 f., Benevento, 1696.

² *Ib.* The same author says that bishop Bartholomew died about 1350.

³ Cf. Mortier, *Hist. des Maîtres Généraux*, ii, p. 495 ff., and especially a dissertation "De congregatione peregrinantium propter Christum" in Masetti, *Mon. ord. prædicatorum*, i, p. 454 ff., Rome, 1864.

1348-9, and wrought special havoc among priests and religious who with heroic courage attended the plague-stricken. Contemporary writers, probably indeed with some exaggeration, have set down most terrifying figures when they treat of the mortality in the great cities.¹ Here we will merely give a few figures relating to religious. In a Franciscan convent of sixty friars in Messina (Sicily), half of them were carried off in a brief space.² In the same city, all the Carmelites, and all the Franciscan hermits perished.³ At Marseilles all the Friars Minors died.⁴ But there is no need to continue this list, for the records of most of the city monastic houses, especially, have the same story to tell. After such a phenomenal mortality, there were not enough religious left to do what was expected of them in their own neighbourhood, let alone to meet the demands of the new missions. We will but further quote on this subject a letter of Clement VI., dated March 6, 1349, in order to show how the Oriental missions suffered from the dread pestilence.⁵ From this document which is addressed to the Vicar-General of the Dominican Order, and to the "Reader" in theology in the Apostolic Palace, it appears that in Persia out of fifteen Dominican houses (where there were only three survivors) and as many of other religious Orders, no priests at all were left to look after "the copious multitude of the faithful" in those parts. The survivors, believing that their Order was, at the time,

¹ See the chapter on "La Peste" in Mortier, *Hist. des Maîtres gén.*, iii, p. 254 ff.

² John of Vitoduranus, *Chron.*, ap. Eccard, *Corpus*, i, 1925.

³ *Ib.*, p. 1927.

⁴ Henry of Hervodia, *Chron.*, p. 269, ed. Potthast.

⁵ It is quoted in full in Mortier, *l.c.*, pp. 262-3. In connection with it, we may note that like most papal letters of this period, it is very badly constructed in that it consists of only two long rambling sentences. Even in our own days papal letters are at times models of all that such documents ought not to be.

without a Master-General, had turned to the Pope, and had asked him to provide suitable labourers.

It may be that it was to make the same request, that the Negus in 1351 sent an important embassy to the same Pope Clement VI. It may, of course, have been that the Ethiopic ruler wanted Crusaders to help him against the Moslems of Egypt.¹ At any rate, whatever was his motive, the anonymous German traveller we have already quoted tells us that the Negus, whom he also wrongly styled Prester John, sent some of his family and other envoys to the Roman court.²

Whatever were the subjects discussed by Clement VI. and the Abyssinians, we may be sure that the fact that an embassy from Ethiopia had been able to get to the Pope caused anxiety to the Sultans of Egypt. We know, from the author we have just cited, that they kept the closest watch on the Red Sea, so that no communication might pass between the Princes of Europe and Abyssinia.³ They feared an alliance between the Franks and the Ethiopians.⁴

Either the Sultan of Egypt, or the Plague, or both, would appear to have been successful in stopping any further religious or political intercourse between the Pope and the Negus to the close of the period with

No further communication in our period with Rome.

¹ Cf. John of Vitoduranus, *Chron.*, 1341, ap. Eccard, *Corpus*, i, p. 1868, or Golubovich, *l.c.*, ii, p. 147. According to the Ethiopic chronicle published by Basset, p. 100, one cause of war at this period between Egypt and Ethiopia was the fact that the Sultan had imprisoned Martin IV., patriarch of Alexandria (1348-63).

² "De quorum semine (Pester John) anno dni. 1351, ibidem strenui principes fuerunt supēstites in curia Romana et ambasiatores." Ap. Golubovich, *l.c.*, ii, p. 152. Basset, *l.c.*, p. 243, quoting Codigni, *De Abbassinorum rebus*, p. 177, Lyons, 1615, says the Ethiopians had already sent a mission to Clement V.

³ *Ib.*, c. 10, p. 151.

⁴ Cf. Alvarez, *Embassy*, cc. 102 and 114. Cf. Fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro dei Santuari d'oltre mare* (1345), ii, 277. Bologna, 1881, ap. De la Roncière, *La découverte*, i, 67, ii, 111.

which we purpose to concern ourselves, i.e., up to the pontificate of Martin V. (1417). We must, apparently, wait till the reign of the Negus, Zara Yacob, or Constantine (1434-68), and the pontificate of Eugenius IV. before Rome and Abyssinia get in touch again. In their days, the question of the reunion of the Churches was much to the fore. It was treated of at the Council of Ferrara-Florence-Rome (1438-45). Representatives of the different schismatical bodies, Greeks, Armenians, Chaldeans, etc., appeared before the Council in one or other of the places at which it met. The arrival in Rome of the envoys of the Copts and the Abyssinians made a sensation, as is clear from an entry in the brief diary of Paolo dello Mastro of the Ponte quarter. "I, Paul, remember that in the year 1441, October 9, an abbot (Andrew) of St. Anthony in Egypt, who was a great lord of Prester John (Prete Givanni), with a company of twelve monks came to Rome. When they entered the gate of the city, they were escorted by the Castellan of St. Angelo and the Conservators of the City. They accompanied them to the Church of St. Blaise, and then the heads of the different quarters of Rome (the Caporioni) escorted them to St. Lorenzo in Damaso. . . . They were Christians of the fire."¹

Before this, they had appeared before the Pope and the Council at Florence (Sept. 2, 1441), and their spokesman had declared that nowhere was the Pope held more in honour than in the great Empire of Ethiopia. There men kissed the feet of his legates, and tore their garments

¹ Paolo di Benedetto di Cola dello Mastro, *Memoriale*, p. 9, ed. A. De-Antonis, Rome, 1875. Cf. also the *Miscellanea Hist.*, of Paul, the son of L. Petronius, ap. *R. I. SS.*, xxiv, p. 1124. They were called "Christians of the fire" because, as we have seen, they were branded at their baptism. These envoys had come by Jerusalem where also they had made a sensation. See a letter to the Pope ap. M. de Civezza, *Storia delle Missioni*, iv, 607 ff.

to keep them as relics. The Queen of Sheba and Queen Candace were among the glories of their country. All the Churches that were separated from Rome had been ruined except that of Abyssinia; and the reason that it was spared was that its estrangement from Rome was due, not to rebellion, but to distance, and even to the negligence of some of the Popes themselves who had not sent them legates.¹

The outcome of the discussions at the Council was the union, temporary only for the most part, of the Greeks, Armenians, Copts, Ethiopians, etc., with the mother Church of Rome; and, a little later under Sixtus IV. (1471-84), the establishment, at S. Stefano (*degli Abissini* or *dei Mori*), at the back of St. Peter's, of a hospice and monastery for Abyssinians.²

¹ Hardouin, *Concil.*, t. ix, p. 1031 ff., ap. Hefele, *Concil.*, vii, pt. i, p. 1085 ff., ed. Leclercq, Paris, 1916.

² Hence the locality of the College came to be known as "in Ægypto". Cf. R. Lanciani, *Notæ topograph. de burgo S. Petri*, pp. 234, 238-9 (Estratto, 1923). Cf. on the church, Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma*, p. 750 ff. The article needs some corrections. The first opening of the College (reopened for Abyssinians, 1919) is assigned to this period by Basset, *l.c.*, p. 243. Cf. especially, M. Chaine, *Un monastère Éthiopien à Rome*, Beyrout, 1910.

CHAPTER III.

SICILY.

Efforts for
the release
of Charles of
Salerno.

IN his attitude towards the Sicilian question Nicholas followed exactly the policy of his predecessor. He refused to acknowledge the claims of James and Alfonso to the thrones respectively of Sicily and Aragon, and worked hard, especially through King Edward of England, for the release of Charles the Lamé, Prince of Salerno, the heir of Charles I. of Anjou. He also imitated Honorius in making it clear to the Kings of France and England that he would not accept the terms on which Alfonso of Aragon had offered to release Charles.¹

He began his efforts on Charles' behalf by urging Alfonso to release him, as he had never injured him, but had been seized when defending his father's rights. The detention of the Prince was an outrage to the whole Christian people. Alfonso should, therefore, release him, and not assist the usurpation of his brother James. Moreover, if he does not appear before the Holy See in the course of the next six months, proceedings both spiritual and temporal will be taken against him.² The papal envoys, the archbishops of Ravenna and Monreale, and the Dominican Raynonus of Viterbo, were ordered to deliver the papal letters to Alfonso personally, or at any rate to cite him in public, before the assembled clergy and people.³

¹ See his letters to Philip IV. of France, *Reg.*, nn. 560-1, of March 15, 1288; and to the King of England, ap. Rymer, ii, 358. Cf. *Reg.*, n. 1389. He enumerated the proposed conditions to which he objected.

² Ep. of March 15, 1288, ap. *Reg.*, n. 565.

³ *Ib.*, nn. 566 ff.

Nicholas next repeatedly exhorted the Kings of France and especially of England, to make every effort to secure the release of the Prince.¹

On the other hand, he lost no time in urging James of Aragon to cease his opposition to the Church. He proclaimed his grievances against him before the people assembled in St. John Lateran's on Maundy Thursday, and ordered the parchment on which the *process* against him was written to be affixed to the doors of the basilica.²

Neither of the brothers, however, showed any tendency to comply with the wishes of the Pope. Alfonso reiterated the conditions on which he was prepared to release Charles,³ and continued, so Philip complained to Edward,⁴ to act against his ally the King of Majorca. On his side, Nicholas pushed on the raising of the tenths in Italy⁵ and in France for the campaigns against James and Alfonso. He granted Philip IV. tithes for two years, and then for three⁶ years, and exhorted the people to give freely. Then, finding that the authorities in Genoa were not disposed to encourage their citizens in supporting James of Aragon in Sicily,⁷ he wrote to Philip of France urging him to co-operate with the regents of Sicily in

James of Aragon exhorted to give up his claims.

Action of the Pope and Edward against the brothers, 1288.

¹ *Ib.*, nn. 107-9; Rymer, ii, 358, 364, and 365, of May 26.

² *Reg.*, n. 559, March 28, 1288. "Cartas sive membranas, processum continentes eundem in presentis basilice S. Johannis L. appendi . . . affigi ostiis seu super luminaribus faciemus." *Cf. ib.*, n. 597, giving him till September to make his submission.

³ Rymer, ii, p. 362, Apr. 3, 1288.

⁴ Ep. March 20, ap. *ib.*, p. 357. *Cf. L. de la Marche, France et le royaume de Majorque*, i, 298. ⁵ *Reg.*, nn. 96-100, Apr. 30, 1288.

⁶ *Ib.*, nn. 613, 615, Sept. 11 and 15, 1288. The tithes were to be collected by persons nominated by the Holy See, and were not to be demanded from clerics whose income was under 15 pounds "Turo-nensium parvorum", from the Templars, etc. *Cf. ib.*, nn. 617-18, 1634.

⁷ Ep. May 18, 1288, ap. Wadding, v, 176. In this letter the Pope commissioned two friars to absolve the Genoese (at the request of their Commune) from the censures they had incurred because some of their citizens had traded with the Sicilians "contra interdictum Sedis Apostolicæ". Later on, after the death of Alfonso III. of Aragon

cultivating the Genoese, and in trying to induce them to ally themselves with him against Aragon and the invaders of the island of Sicily.¹

Edward
procures the
release of
Charles,
1288.

On his side Edward, in response to the request of the Pope, continued his efforts to obtain the release of his kinsman, the Prince of Salerno. Though his motives were suspected by some of the French,² there does not seem sufficient reason to doubt that he was in the main disinterested in this matter. However that may be, he applied himself earnestly to the task of settling the Sicilian question. To make it plain that he did not accept the *fait accompli* as the basis of negotiation, he was at pains to proclaim to the world, by a public notarial act, that if in the course of diplomatic correspondence, James was by him alluded to as King of Sicily, he had no intention of acknowledging him as such. This document, drawn up by a public notary of the Apostolic See, was signed by a number of important clergy and laymen, such as Boniface, Peter, and John, archbishops of Ravenna, Monreale, and York, Otho of Grandison, etc.³ Encouraged by the people of Jaca (in north-west Aragon), who swore to use their best efforts to make Alfonso carry out the terms of the treaty,⁴ Edward had (June 18, 1291), when James, leaving his brother Frederick in charge of Sicily, had gone to Aragon for the crown of that country, Nicholas urged the Genoese not to help him or Frederick in any way. On the contrary, they should assist the Pope and Charles II. Ep. of Feb. 29, 1292, ap. Raynaldus, *Annales*, 1292, n. 15.

¹ Ep. Oct. 23, 1288, ap. *Reg.*, n. 7178.

² Will. of Nangis, *Chron.*, i, 268. Some thought, says William, that he was really acting against France. But it is rather more probable that he was really acting not merely in the interests of an imprisoned cousin, but also in those of the Crusades.

³ *Protestatio*, ap. Rymer, ii, 366 f. It was drawn up at Jaca in Aragon.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 367, Sept. 18. Hardy's summary of this doc. is not accurate. *Syllabus of Rymer's Fœdera*, i, p. 104; nor is his date of the treaty of "Campo Francho"; *ib.*, p. 105. He gives it as Oct. 27. It should be Oct. 28: "*Quarto die exeunte mensis Octobris.*"

a meeting with Alfonso in the neighbourhood of Jaca, to wit, at Campfranc (Oct. 28), and a new treaty regarding the liberation of Charles was agreed to.¹ Its foundation was the treaty of Oleron.² Charles himself was present at the meeting, and we are assured that the clauses of the Oleron treaty were read out distinctly and approved by him, subject to the changes introduced in the new convention.³ These changes did not, as we have just insinuated, affect the fundamental clauses of the treaties of Cefalù and Oleron, such as the cession of Sicily to James of Aragon, to which the Popes had objected, but simply concerned the ransom, hostages, and securities generally, which were to constitute the price of Charles's liberation. Seemingly, suspecting that the treaty of Campfranc would be no more acceptable to Nicholas than its predecessors, the parties to it agreed to stand by it, despite the protests or prohibitions of any person whatsoever, no matter what position he might hold.⁴ Yet in the agreement between Charles and Edward by which the former promised to repay our King all the monies he was to advance for him, and in general to perform all he had undertaken to do in order to secure his release, Edward insisted that he should consent to being forced to keep his promises, if necessary, by papal pressure.⁵

¹ Rymer, ii, p. 371 ff.

² Treaty of July 25, 1287, ap. *ib.*, p. 346 ff. "Personaliter (Alfonsus and Edward) convenientes apud Oleron in Bearn."

³ Rymer, *ib.*, p. 371.

⁴ "Immo, sine omni excusatione, mandato . . . ac precibus cujusunque personæ, quantæque dignitatis aut status existat, in contrarium non admissis, stabunt prædictis conventionibus." Cf. the treaty, ap. *ib.*, p. 374, Oct. 27, 1288. Cf. *ib.*, p. 390. This surely seems aimed at the Pope.

⁵ Agreement of Nov. 3, 1288. On this date Charles now "in sua libertate existens"; agreed to submit "cohercioni d. Papæ . . . ita quod d. Papa, ad *solam requisitionem* . . . regis Angliæ . . . possit eundem principem . . . compellere ad complementum omnium, etc." Ap. Rymer, ii, 389 f.

And for still greater security, he required that the document embodying this consent should be signed by the Pope's envoys, the Archbishops of Ravenna and Monreale.

Conditions
of release of
Charles.

Besides acknowledging the claim of James of Aragon to the island of Sicily, Charles had to engage to strive to bring about within a year a truce of three years between Alfonso on the one hand, and the Pope, Philip of France and Charles of Valois on the other, and to secure the Pope's sanction of the treaty. Within three years he was to make a definite peace with James and Alfonso, which would satisfy the latter, and was not, during the same period, to do, or, as far as he could, suffer to be done anything against them.

As a guarantee of good faith, Charles was to give to Alfonso as hostages his two sons, Louis and Robert at once, and his eldest son Charles Martel in the course of the next ten months, and sixty nobles of Provence. He was also to hand over to Alfonso thirty thousand marks. Should he fail to carry out these terms, or to return to captivity should he be unable to fulfil them, he was to lose his hostages and the money deposited with Alfonso, by himself and his surety King Edward, to incur the note of infamy and to lose Provence and his title of King. To insure the prince's keeping his word, our King had also to give Alfonso a number of hostages, and to bind himself in large sums of money. Finally, it was agreed that the hostages, etc., should be handed over to Alfonso either at Sta. Christina or between the hill of Panessars and Jonquère.¹

¹ With the formal *Pact* of Campfranc (ap. Rymer, ii, 371 ff.), cf. the statement of Charles about the treaty (*ib.*, p. 441, Nov. 1, 1289), and that of Alfonso about it, ap. *ib.*, 455 ff., Jan. 4, 1290. For the bonds of King Edward for 70,000 marks and hostages, see *ib.*, p. 375, Oct. 28, 1288. Edward paid down at once 23,000 marks, partly in gold sovereigns (in *Sterlingis bonis*) at the rate of 13 solidi and 4 denarii to the mark; partly in good silver Tournois, at the rate

When King Edward had duly paid a large deposit, and had handed over to Alfonso some eighty hostages (Oct. 28),¹ and Charles had consigned to him his two sons Louis (afterwards the saintly bishop of Toulouse) and Robert (Oct. 29),² the Prince was released and betook himself to Edward at Oleron. This took place either at the end of October or the beginning of November.³ At any rate, the Prince was free on November 3,⁴ and proclaimed that our King was "the head and front" of his deliverance.⁵

Release of Charles.

He was most kindly received by Edward, and having obtained a loan of money, and a bodyguard from him,⁶ went to Provence, and afterwards to King Philip in Paris. However anxious Charles may have been to carry out the conditions of the treaty of Campfranc, he soon found that he was faced with well-nigh insurmountable difficulties. The Pope was not prepared to have his fief of Sicily left in the hands of the Aragonese invaders; James of Majorca was not ready to leave his kingdom in the power of Alfonso, Charles of Valois was as resolved as ever to make good his title to the throne of Aragon, and he himself was overwhelmed with debt. To raise money, he appealed, not altogether in vain, to the

Charles goes to Philip and the Pope, 1288-9.

of 54 gros Tournois to the mark, and partly in good gold florins at the rate to the mark of six florins less 2 solidi "*Turonensium minutorum*". See the acknowledgment of Alfonso, ap. *ib.*, p. 381, Oct. 28, 1288. The details of this treaty occupy about 100 pages in Rymer. The terms of the treaty are also briefly given by the chroniclers, Rishanger, p. 116, *R. S.*; *Ann. Edw. I.*, p. 482, *R. S.*; *Ann. of Worcester*, p. 497, *R. S.*; Will. de Nangis, i, p. 274, etc.

¹ Rymer, ii, 378 ff., 381.

² *Ib.*, p. 386.

³ *Cf. ib.*, p. 436.

⁴ *Ib.*, 389.

⁵ "*Liberationis nostræ caput et principium.*" *Ib.*, p. 486.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 388; *Ann. de Wigornia*, p. 498; Geoffrey de Courlon, *Chron.*, p. 574; Muntaner, *Chron.*, cc. 162, 167 ff., but his account is hopelessly confused.

generosity of his friends.¹ Then, to assist Edward in fulfilling his share of the treaty, he gave over to him another of his sons, Raymund Berenger, so that our King might deliver him to Alfonso, and so conclude all he had undertaken to do.²

Whilst a desultory warfare was being waged between the French and the Aragonese in the interests of Charles of Valois, but mostly in favour of Alfonso, Charles of Salerno was slowly making his way to the Pope. All the time he was doing his best to make good the treaty. For this even the old Aragonese chronicler, Muntaner, gives him credit, declaring that he was "one of the generous . . . pious . . . and upright lords of the world".³

Charles is
crowned by
the Pope,
1289.

However that may be, he reached Rieti, where Nicholas then was, in May; and, of course, discussed the situation with him. In the very first month of his pontificate, the Pope had clearly stated to the Kings of England and France, that, as his predecessor had rejected the pact of Cefalù, he also refused to accept that of Oleron which, as King James had insisted, had embodied the conditions of the earlier agreement.⁴ Now, after Charles had laid the conditions of the treaty of Campfranc before him,

¹ See his correspondence with the Commune of Brescia which had already manifested its goodwill to him, ap. James Malvecio (fl. 1412), *Chron. Brixianum*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, xxiv, p. 953 ff. Charles's letter for help is dated Marseilles, Dec. 1, 1288.

² See the declaration of Alfonso that Edward was quits, ap. Rymer, ii, 415, March 9, 1289.

³ *Chron.*, c. 167. Cf. *Chron. Siculum*, p. 6, ed. De Blasiis: "Carolus fuit multum justus, etc."

⁴ Cf. ep. of March 15 to Philip, *Reg.*, 560-1. James had insisted that "Ut ipse (Alfonso) a compositione sine concordia pridem inter eum (Prince Charles) illosque tractata, dum adhuc in Sicilie partibus primogenitus ipse esset, recedere non deberet". Alfonso had hearkened to his brother's desire, and had added that the Prince could not be released till marriages had been arranged between K. James and his eldest daughter, and between his eldest son and Isalanda the sister of James and Alfonso. The letter to Edward, in the same terms, is given in full in Rymer, ii, 358 ff.

and had declared that the final settlement must rest with him,¹ Nicholas thanked God with tears in his eyes for his freedom, but declared that he was not bound by his undertakings to his Sicilian enemy. What, however, he had promised to Edward, through whom he had acquired his liberty, that must be observed.²

Then, on the feast of Pentecost (May 29), Nicholas, whom Specialis calls "the author of his liberation"³ solemnly crowned Charles King of Sicily in the Church of our Lady.⁴

Fortunately Cardinal Stefaneschi has left us a record of the ceremonies observed on this occasion.⁵ Nicholas took his place in the church "in the early morning", and was followed by Prince Charles with an attendant bearing a sheathed sword in front of him. Surrounded by a number of his nobles, and of the prelates of his kingdom clad in copes, he was received at the choir by Latinus Malabranca, Bernard of Languisel, John Boccamazza, and Bentivenga, cardinal-bishops respectively of Ostia, Porto, Tusculum, and Albano. After the cardinals and others had said various prayers over him, the Prince proceeded to an altar at the right of the high altar.

Ceremonies
of the
Coronation.

¹ Bartholomew of N., c. 112, p. 109 (new ed.). "Sed nihil actum, vel agendum credidero, nisi quod a tua Sanctitate tantum, pater clementissime, decerneretur."

² *Ib.*, cf. Will. of Nangis, an. 1289, i, p. 275. "Absolutus totaliter a juramento quod fecerat regi Aragonum et Siculis."

³ *Chron.*, ii, c. 15, ap. *R. I. SS.*, x, p. 958.

⁴ *Ib.*, B. of N., l.c.; *Chron. Suessanum*, ap. Raynaldus, an. 1289, n. 1; the author of the *Memoriale Potest. Reg.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, viii, p. 1171, who says that "in his presence" Charles, accompanied by his wife, Mary of Hungary, was crowned King of Jerusalem and Sicily by the Pope who granted to him all the territories which his father had held of the Roman Church; and Charles's own letter written to the Commune of Brescia immediately after his coronation. Ap. Malvecio, *Chron.*, viii, c. 108.

⁵ "La cérémonie romaine de Jacques Cajétan," by L. H. Labande, ap. *Bib. de l'école des Chartes*, 1893, p. 71 ff.

There, at his own request, the bishop of Ostia anointed him "as the Kings of France are anointed", to wit, on his hands, arms, breast, and shoulders. After this anointing, Charles put on more splendid garments, one like a dalmatic, and, above it, another like a stole. Next, when he had said the "Confiteor" with the Pope, he received from him the kiss of peace, "just as the cardinal deacons do." Nicholas, then proceeding with the Mass, said a special collect for the Prince, and after the epistle put the royal crown upon his head, the orb into his right hand, and the sceptre into his left. Then taking the sheathed sword from the altar, on which it had been laid, girded it on the King, who, drawing it from its sheath, thrice brandished it in the air. This done, the King kissed the feet of the Pope, and was, in turn, kissed by him. At the offertory, the King presented the Pope with bread, wine, wax candles, and gold pieces. Whilst Nicholas was saying the Canon of the Mass, the King remained near the altar close to the Deacons, and received the *Pax* and Holy Communion from the Pope.

After Mass, the King held the stirrup whilst the Pope mounted his horse, and led it to the adjoining Palace. Then, mounting his own horse, Charles II., with his crown on his head, rode to his own abode.

With reference no doubt to such ceremonies as the holding of the stirrup, the account of the coronation closes with a remark that "many" of the things that were done at it were "not so much approved as tolerated by the lord Pope and his brethren". Accordingly, when Robert the Wise, the son of Charles II., was crowned by Clement V. at Avignon, those ceremonies were suppressed.¹

In the month following his coronation, Charles took the usual oath of allegiance to Nicholas for the kingdom of the two Sicilies, such as it had been granted to his

Charles
takes the
oath of
allegiance,
1289.

¹ Labande, p. 71.

father (June 19, 1289).¹ Not long after, having received from the Pope many concessions as to the date of his payment of the tax for Sicily, etc., the newly crowned King left Rieti to proceed to his kingdom. He was anxious, among other things, to make headway against James of Aragon, who was at the moment ravaging his realm.² On June 27, as we learn from one of his charters, he was at Sulmona; and we may note that henceforth the public documents of the kingdom no longer bear the names of Cardinal Gerard and Robert, count of Artois, but that of King Charles II.³

After spending some weeks in Naples, Charles, with troops furnished him by the Pope and the Guelf cities of Tuscany, Lombardy, etc., marched to the relief of Gaeta, which was being besieged by King James (August).⁴ However, before the month of August was out, a truce for two years had been arranged between the two kings, through the mediation of Otho of Grandison, an envoy of King Edward, and of a papal legate, and James returned to Sicily.⁵

Whoever else was satisfied with this truce, or, at any rate, with the way in which it was concluded, Cardinal Benedict Gaetani (afterwards Boniface VIII.) was not. With good reason he had no high opinion of the ability

¹ Given in full in Lünig, *Cod. Ital. Diplom.*, iv, p. 441 ff. In turn Nicholas granted Charles various ecclesiastical privileges. *Reg.*, 1052-9, June 28, 1289.

² Bart. of N., *l.c.* Re the concessions, *Reg.*, nn. 2246-9, June 20, 1249.

³ *Syllab. Membran. Sic.*, ii, pt. i, p. 44, n.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 57 for a document of Charles of Aug. 18, 1289. "In castris in obsidione hostium prope Caietam." Cf. Bart. of N., *l.c.*

⁵ Aug. 25, 1289, to Nov. 1, 1291. Cf. C. M. Riccio, *Della domin. Angioina in Sicilia*, p. 11; Bart. of N., pp. 109, 111. (This author is more concerned with concocting speeches than recording facts); Muntaner, c. 169. Cf. Camera, *Annali delle due Sicilie*, ii, p. 12. Our Chronicler, *Rishanger*, in telling of this truce, calls James "the occupier (occupatorem) of Sicily", p. 118, *R. S.* See also a letter of Charles to Alfonso of Nov. 1, 1289, ap. Rymer, ii, 441.

of Charles II., who would appear to have been more chivalrous than intelligent. When, as Pope, Benedict had occasion to blame him for acting on his own initiative, he recalled the fact that he and Cardinal Gerard had been sent to his assistance, and yet he had made the truce without the knowledge of Benedict, or, as he says, of his colleague. By such conduct, added Benedict, you flouted not only me and Cardinal Gerard, but also your mother, the Roman Church. After recalling in sarcastic terms "the provident, discreet and useful" terms he had subsequently made with James for his own release and that of his children, the Pope concluded: "From such acts we have learnt by long experience that in serious matters things do not go well when you rely on yourself." ¹

Formal
repudiation
of the treaty
of Camp-
franc.

Establishing his son, Charles Martel, as his regent, Charles II. left his kingdom, which he was not to see again for over four years, and in the first instance returned to Nicholas at Rieti (September).² We do not know whether he tried or not to induce the Pope to accept the treaty of Campfranc; but, in any case, on September 12, 1289, Nicholas issued a bull in which he formally annulled all the treaties between Alfonso, Edward, and Charles, and absolved the two latter from the oaths which they had taken in connection with them.³ Nicholas was justly determined that his rights should not be bargained away by others. After the signing of the treaty both James and Alfonso had sent envoys to him. Those of the former had come in three ships of

¹ *Reg. Bonif. VIII.*, n. 3425.

² This we know from a document ap. *Syllab. Memb., l.c.*, p. 61.

³ *Reg.*, n. 1389. Unfortunately, of this important document, Langlois has only given the above meagre analysis. However, we may regard the bull "Dissolve colligationes" ap. Raynaldus, *Ann.*, n. 17, as a reiteration of that of Sept. 12. Again, unfortunately, Raynaldus does not date the document, but it appears to have been issued about the same time, but after some illness of Alfonso.

war to Rome. Nicholas had at once ordered the Senator, Berthold Orsini, to see that their galleys were anchored below St. Paul's outside the walls and that the envoys themselves were not to be allowed to stay in Rome where they might work mischief, but were to be sent on to him at once.¹ They, however, were apparently no more successful in obtaining recognition for their master's claims, than were those who had been sent by Alfonso immediately after the signing of the treaty of Campfranc. Although Charles had pleaded along with the envoys of the latter, Nicholas flatly refused to recognize the right of anyone to give away or keep what did not belong to him,² and, as we have said, issued a specific condemnation of the pact of Campfranc. In the language of a later condemnation, he had declared: "'Loose the bands of wickedness, undo the bundles that oppress . . . and break asunder every burden' (Isa. lviii, 6). By these precepts of Holy Writ we are led to dissolve wicked obligations impiously contracted to oppress the innocent." Denouncing the invasion of Sicily and the mainland by Peter of Aragon as an outrage of the rights of the Church,³ he reviewed the chief terms of the treaties made between Alfonso and Charles, and declared that, as Peter was an unjust aggressor, neither he nor his son had any right to keep Charles in prison, as he was properly defending his father's rights. He pointed out, too, that the treaties had been wrung from a man in prison, who, as a liegeman of the Church, could not bind himself, and still less the Church or the King of France. It would

¹ *Reg.*, n. 7050, June 12, 1288.

² See the letter of Alfonso to Edward (Nov. 24, 1289) complaining that what he called his *justice* (or rights—*justitia*) "eis (his envoys), imo nobis in eisdem, per Ecclesiam totaliter extitit denegata". Ap. Rymer, ii, 451.

³ "Quod (the kingdom of the two Sicilies) ipsius Ecclesiæ juris et proprietatis extitit." See the letter "Dissolve colligationes", ap. Raynaldus, 1288, n. 17.

be a fine thing, moreover, if the Church were debarred from helping loyal friends, and had to favour its enemies. Accordingly Honorius IV. had already condemned not only the "liberation treaty" of Oleron, but any other like it. Therefore, especially as it had been said on good authority¹ that Peter on his deathbed, and even Alfonso himself in grave sickness had ordered the release of Charles, we absolutely annul the treaty, and declare all oaths taken in connection with it not binding. At the same time, he declared that in another *process* issued by him at Rome on Maundy Thursday, he had ordered Alfonso to return the hostages and money which he had received. Moreover, he had strictly forbidden Edward, King Charles, and all others concerned to fulfil their undertakings. This he did, he added, because he was aware that generous souls sometimes imagined that they were bound to keep promises which they had had no right to make.

Criticism of
the Pope's
position.

The position taken up by Nicholas with regard to the treaty of Campfranc which must have been generally anticipated, and was evidently regarded as natural by his contemporaries,² quite naturally did not please the Sicilians. Accordingly, one of their historians, Bartholomew de Neocastro, who was present at the siege of Gaeta just mentioned, puts a speech into the mouth of a certain Guido, a Templar, in which he is supposed to have said that the Pope "the head of all the Princes

¹ "Præcipue cum habeat fide digna relatio, quod . . . Petrus in supremis suis . . . principem a carcere liberari mandavit." *Ib.* Charles is called by the Pope "Ecclesiæ vassallus præcipuus".

² Mr. C. L. Kingsford, indeed ("Sir Otho de Grandison," *ap. Transacs. of the R. Hist. Soc.*, 1909, p. 134, calls it a breach of good faith, and adds that Edward "naturally indignant, sent O. de G. to expostulate with Nicholas for stirring new strife among Christians, etc." For this assertion he quotes Rymer, i, 708, May 8, 1289. It may scarcely be credited, but the document (in my edition, ii, 421) is merely a letter of credence "pro quibusdam negotiis nostris".

of Christendom " ought to be rousing them to the defence of Acre, now threatened by the Moslem. Instead, " for the recovery of Sicily . . . you have against its King armed other kings. Listen to the voice of your conscience, and cause the French to make peace with the Sicilians." ¹

After the decided way in which Nicholas had rejected the treaty of Campfranc, King Charles felt that there was no hope of inducing him to change his mind in a short time. Accordingly, through Hugh, Bishop of Saragossa, and Abbot Sinaqua, he asked Alfonso to grant him more than a year in which to fulfil his undertakings.² His request was supported by King Edward.³ Alfonso, however, declared that, though he could not grant the delay asked for, he would grant what was really equivalent. If King Charles had fulfilled his promises by May 1, 1290, he would not meanwhile exact any forfeits.⁴

Charles asks
for a
prorogation.

¹ *Hist.*, c. 112, p. 108 f. Cf. *ib.*, p. 110, for a similar speech to the Pope by *Hugh*, an envoy of Edward. He also appeals to the Pope's conscience " qua totius orbis circulus gubernatur ". See *ib.*, p. 112 ff. for the preposterous and insolent speeches which an angel is supposed to have inspired a hermit from Sicily to address to the Pope. The said hermit, among other things, tells the Pope, in the style of the Pharisee, that he fasted twice in the week, etc., whereas the Pope feasted on every kind of fish, flesh, fowl, and wine ! See again, p. 114, for the rubbish which, by the mouth of his envoy, brother Raymond, a Catalan monk, Nicholas is supposed to have addressed to James of Sicily, when asking him to go to the rescue of the Holy Land. Our Edward, who had nearly twenty years more of fight in him, is said to be too old to fight and the French King too fat ! More ridiculous speeches, regarding Gregory IX. and the *Crusade* of Frederick II. on p. 115 ff.

² Cf. *epp. ap. Rymer*, ii, p. 368. These two letters are obviously wrongly dated, and belong to the year 1289, *after* Charles's release, and not to 1288 before his release. Cf. also *ib.*, p. 429, for the letter of the bishop of Saragossa.

³ See his letter of Aug. 31, 1289, *ap. ib.*, p. 428.

⁴ See Hugh's letter to Charles, Sept. 5, 1289. " Et super hiis . . . Rex Aragonum mittit celsitudini vestræ literam suam." *Rymer*, ii, 429. See the King's letter, *ib.*, pp. 430 and 431, of Sept. 7, 1289. With this compare the wrongly dated letters, *ap. ib.*, p. 368.

Dissatisfied with this reply, or in despair of being able to fulfil the treaty, Charles resolved to give himself up to Alfonso and to return to captivity. At any rate, he sent envoys to the King of Aragon to prepare to receive him.¹ As, however, he did not furnish his envoys with any particulars as to his proposed surrender,² it would appear that he was not in earnest; but was going to take a leaf out of the Aragonese book, and play a trick similar to that played at the lists of Bordeaux by Pedro III. on his father.³

Charles II.
offers
himself to be
led back to
captivity,
1289.

However all that may be, on Monday, October 31, 1289, Charles presented himself between the hill of Panissars and Jonquère to be led back to captivity. There he remained for three days, supported by James of Majorca, who was careful to explain that he was not there to attack Alfonso or his followers, but, if need be, to defend Charles.⁴ As neither Alfonso nor any representative of his appeared to conduct Charles to his prison, that Prince caused documents to be drawn up certifying that he had duly presented himself at the appointed time and place ready to return to captivity, as he had been unable to comply with the terms of the peace. He had come "unarmed" and with a small number of unarmed followers.⁵ He had done his part, and was now free!

On November 1 he wrote to tell Alfonso what he had done, to assure him that he intended to remain some time

¹ Ep. Oct. 21, 1289 (not 1288) of Alfonso to Charles, ap. *ib.*, p. 368 f. Charles's envoy said "quod vos, ad captionem nostram redire volentem, nos recipere pararemus". Cf. ep. of bishop Hugh, *ib.*, p. 368, Oct. 19, 1289 (not 1288).

² See the letter of Alfonso just cited, and his letters of complaint about Charles's artfulness of Nov. 24, 1289, and Jan. 4, 1290, ap. *ib.*, pp. 450, 455.

³ Cf. *supra*.

⁴ See his declaration ap. Rymer, ii, p. 440.

⁵ "Venit inermis et cum modica gente sua inermi." Ap. *ib.*, p. 437. Cf. the two foll. documents of Nov. 1.

in the neighbourhood, and to ask him to come to him so that they could continue to treat of peace. Then, as it was not his fault that no one had been sent to conduct him back to his prison, he intended to push his claim for the liberation of his children and hostages, and the repayment of the thirty thousand marks of silver.¹

Alfonso lost no time in protesting to King Edward that King Charles had done nothing but pretend to try to fulfil his treaty obligations, and that his offer to surrender himself was nothing but a sham, as he had not stated whether he intended to present himself at the hill of Sta. Christina or at that of Panissars. Yet the two places were more than ten days' journey apart, and he had chosen the place which had fallen into the power of the enemies of Aragon, and had come "with a multitude of armed men". He begged Edward to induce Charles to keep his word.²

Our King, accordingly, continued his thankless task of trying to bring about an understanding between Charles and his Aragonese foes, and Nicholas continued his efforts to raise money for his "chief vassal" against James of Sicily.³

King Charles also earnestly co-operated with Edward in his efforts to end the Sicilian question, and begged Nicholas to send legates to France in order to facilitate

Protest of
Alfonso.

Edward
continues to
strive for
peace, 1290.

Nicholas
sends legates
to France,
1290.

¹ *Ib.* "A jure . . . super liberatione . . . nostrorum liberorum, etc., cum per nos non steterit quia parati essemus in conducto loco et termino vestrum carcerem reintrare, discedere non intendimus quoque modo."

² Ep. ap. Nov. 24, 1289, ap. *ib.*, p. 450 ff. Cf. another to the same effect of Jan. 4, 1290, ap. *ib.*, p. 455. In this latter letter he expressed his belief that Charles could, had he wished, have secured the assent of the Holy See to the peace.

³ See his letters (1) to the Archbishop of Ravenna and all his ecclesiastical dependents, ap. Balaze, *Miscell.*, iii, 41, ed. Mansi, Nov. 26, 1289, and (2) to "imperial" Tuscany, *Reg.*, 2136-8, Feb. 20, 1290. *Ib.*, and Kaltenbruner, *Actenstücke*, n. 380, Feb. 9, 1290, to the Archbp. of Rouen.

a settlement. Nicholas was glad to comply for other reasons as well. A quarrel, which was to culminate in the terrible Hundred Years' War, had begun between Edward and Philip of France, and the latter monarch was continuing his interference with the Church in France, which was to embitter the pontificate of Boniface VIII.¹ Nicholas, accordingly, dispatched to France (March 23, 1290) two distinguished cardinals. One was cardinal Gerard of Parma, who had been in the midst of the Sicilian affair since the *Vespers*, and the learned canonist, the famous Benedict Gaetani.² Expressing his pleasure that, "for the sake of the peace of the world, the profit of the Holy Land and the good of souls," serious negotiations were again on foot between Charles and Alfonso and other "exalted personages", Nicholas gave the two cardinals most extensive powers, and recommended them to the King of France, the Duke of Burgundy, and others.³

Charles of
Valois
renounces
his claim,
1290.

As James of Sicily had made it quite plain that he had no intention of quitting that island, and Charles II. had equally no intention of letting him remain there if he could help it, the latter devoted all his energies to making peace with Alfonso. As a preliminary, he induced Charles of Valois, in exchange for the hand of his daughter, Margaret, and the counties of Anjou and Maine, to

¹ Jordanus, *Chron.*, ap. Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.*, iv, p. 1017. He says of the quarrel "quæ magna fuit, et multum duravit"; and of the work of the legates that they could not patch up the quarrel, but "Concordarunt tamen Clerum cum Rege, propter quod aliqui putant eos principaliter missos". Cf. Ptolemy of Lucca, *H.E.*, xxiv, 26, p. 1197; B. Guidonis, *in vit. Nich.*

² Bart. of N., c. 112, p. 118 (new ed.) pretends that the cardinals were dispatched in consequence of the pleadings of the aged John of Procida sent by James of Sicily to him who "hominum genera, qui Deum Patrem agnoscunt, sub tuo cuncta regas imperio".

³ Cf. Raynaldus, an. 1290, n. 17 ff.; *Reg.*, 4254-4300, March 23, Apr. 9 and 25, 1290. Cf. Rymer, ep. of Charles, July 28, 1290.

renounce his claim to the crown of Aragon. To this the Pope agreed, and sent a dispensation for the marriage, as the couple were related in the third degree.¹

Alfonso was the more willing to come to terms with King Charles, and to let his brother James look after his own interests in Sicily, because in addition to his difficulties with France and his uncle James of Majorca, he had troubles nearer home. His nobles were discontented, as they saw their country exposed to dangers and its resources dissipated in the quarrels of others, and he himself was also worried by the aggressions of Sancho IV. of Castile and Leon.² Accordingly, he sent envoys to meet those of Edward. They assembled with King Charles at Tarascon (in castro Tarasconensi), and then went to Brignoles (Var), where the two legates of the Pope were residing (February 19). Their object, they stated, was to bring back Alfonso and James to their duty (ad devotionem et reverentiam) to the Roman Church, and to make a general peace.³ It was finally agreed that Alfonso should send envoys to Rome to declare that their master had never consciously offended the holy Roman Church, but that he believed that the Holy See looked on him as an offender on account of the doings of his father. He, in any case, begged for pardon, and placed himself and his country at the goodwill of

Treaty of
Tarascon-
Brignoles,
1291.

¹ Will. of Nangis, *Chron.*, i, p. 278. They were married at Corbeil, Aug. 15, 1290. The dispensation was sent March 24, 1290; *Reg.*, n. 7370. The version of W. of N., ap. *R. I. SS.*, xx, p. 574, gives Aug. 16; see also Gerard de Frachet, ap. *ib.*, xxi, p. 10.

² Cf. Jofré de Loaisa, *Chron. de Castille*, c. 38 ff. Sancho's attack on Aragon was in connection with the "Infantes de la Cerda".

³ See document "datam Brionæ", of Feb. 19, 1291, ap. Rymer, ii, 501. Muntaner, *Chron.*, c. 173, tells the story of this treaty in his own naïve and loose fashion. Among other things he says that if anyone would know the names of the envoys at the conference "and all that the cardinal said to them in the name of the Holy Father . . . let him go to the *Gesta* which En Galceran de Vilanova wrote of it". But where the reader will find the *Gesta*, I know not.

the Pope. On its side, the Roman Church was to acknowledge Alfonso as King of Aragon, holding the same rights as his father before his quarrel with it. King Charles was also to undertake to bring Philip of France and Charles of Valois to agree to make the same acknowledgment. When all this was done, Alfonso was to restore the hostages and money he had received, and before the following Christmas to renew his promises before the Holy Father in person. He would also go on a Crusade, and deny all help to his brother James of Sicily, if he would not submit to the Holy See. The position of the King of Majorca was left over for the moment ; but a little later he agreed to submit it to the ruling of the Pope and his two legates.¹

On the following day the two cardinals accepted the treaty, saving due respect to God, and to the honour of the Pope and the King of France.²

Death of
Alfonso,
1291.

As this treaty would have isolated James of Sicily, it is more than likely that it would have proved fatal to the Aragonese power in that island. But its whole force was upset by the comparatively sudden death of Alfonso III. (June 18, 1291). When he found that his illness was serious, he made his will, and "left the kingdom to the Lord King En Jaime, King of Sicily, his brother, and his body to the Minorite Friars of Barcelona".³

James of
Sicily takes
possession of
Aragon.

Accordingly the count of Ampurias and others were at once dispatched to Sicily "to bring the Lord King

¹ Doc. of Apr. 12, 1291, ap. *ib.*, p. 523.

² Ap. *ib.*, p. 504. Spanish historians add that Alfonso engaged to pay tribute to Rome as Peter II. had long ago agreed to do. Cf. *Liber Censuum*, i, p. 16*, ed. Fabre. According to Bart. of N., c. 114, p. 121, Alfonso agreed to go on paying the annual 30 ounces of gold which had been paid by all his ancestors except his father after he had been angered by the Sicilian affair. If the Aragonese tribute was discussed, no doubt B. has given us the correct conclusion. But the actual treaty says nothing of this. Cf. *supra*, vol. xii, p. 171.

³ Muntaner, *ib.*, c. 174. Cf. B. of N., c. 115.

En Jaime to be lord of Aragon and Catalonia, and of the kingdom of Valencia".¹ Before leaving Sicily, James put the island under the control of his mother and his brother "the Infante En Fadrique"²; and as soon as he landed in Aragon he made peace with Sancho of Castile, inducing the Infants of Cerda to renounce their claim to that country.³ They were to receive estates in Castile.

James was anxious to have peace at home in order that he might be freer to carry on the fight for Sicily. In all the negotiations which the Pope had sanctioned with Aragon, he had never shown any intention of surrendering Sicily to its domination. Both during and after the parleys which ended in the treaty of Tarascon-Brignoles, Nicholas had continued to act against the Aragonese in Sicily. At the regular seasons for the issue of such things, he had instituted processes against James,⁴ and he had for sixteen months granted to King Charles the tithes from the half of the city of Avignon recently ceded to him by Philip of France.⁵ He had granted indulgences to those who fought for him⁶; and, after the death of Alfonso (June) and the taking possession of Aragon by James, he continued his action against him. In August he was engaged both by letter and by envoys in exhorting the people of Majorca to expel the Aragonese intruders, and to return to the allegiance of their sovereign (James of Majorca).⁷ A little later he was exhorting Philip le Bel to help Charles II.

Struggle for
Sicily
continued,
1291.

¹ *Ib.*, c. 175.

² *Ib.* Cf. B. of N., *l.c.*

³ *Ib.*, c. 177.

⁴ *Reg.*, n. 4404. On the feast of the dedication of the basilica of SS. Peter and Paul (Nov. 20, 1290), Nicholas had summoned James to submit to the Church by Apr. 1, 1291; and after the death of Alfonso, he had (Nov. 20, 1291, *Reg.*, n. 6839) renewed the excommunication already issued against him.

⁵ *Reg.*, 4243; Feb. 16, 1291. Cf. 6703, 6724.

⁶ *Ib.*, n. 6702, May 7, 1291.

⁷ *Ib.*, nn. 6732-4, Aug. 9, 1291.

“ to defend the country which he now has, and to recover, when the opportunity occurs, his territory now in the hands of enemies.”¹ At the same time, he instructed the Archbishop of Reggio, whom he had sent to Genoa on matters connected with the Holy Land, to help King Charles when he should get to the city, so as, if possible, to get assistance from the republic.² Finally, up to a month or two of his death, he was engaged in endeavouring “ to boycott ” Sicily.³ If Charles did not recover Sicily the fault was not that of Nicholas IV.

¹ *Reg.*, n. 6835, Oct. 1, 1291.

² *Ib.*, n. 6837. It would seem from the *Annals of Genoa*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi, p. 600, that King Charles had already (March, 1290) made one effort to induce the Genoese to help him. See especially Bart. of N., c. 114, p. 122, new ed. Cf. *ib.*, c. 119, whence it would appear that Charles did not get help from the republic.

³ *Reg.*, n. 6836, Oct. 1, 1291 ; cf. 6838 and 6954, Feb. 29, 1292.

CHAPTER IV

THE EMPIRE, FRANCE, AND THE CRUSADES

ALTHOUGH Kaltenbrunner has collected about a hundred Relations and fifty documents addressed by Nicholas to King with the Empire. Rudolf or other persons in the Empire,¹ there is not much of general interest to be extracted from them. They are for the most part concerned with the ordinary details of church government. There are matrimonial dispensations, and dispensations for the holding of pluralities, etc.; there are notices to Rudolf of the appointment of bishops.² There is, too, a document giving various powers to the archbishop of Trèves, among others, to bestow benefices which had fallen to the Holy See during its long vacancy.³

Among these numerous documents, however, there are a few of exceptional interest, and to these we will now give a little attention. In his struggles against the results of the half century of anarchy that preceded his accession, and in his efforts to restore the unity of the Empire, King Rudolf was often in want of money. To replenish his exchequer, it would appear that, at least on one occasion, he tarnished his deserved reputation as a lover of justice by imitating the methods of our King John. To judge from the Annals and Chronicles of Colmar, to which the letter of Nicholas about to be cited lends support, it would seem that Rudolf seized a distinguished Jewish Rabbi. There had been a rising of Nicholas intercedes for a Jew.

¹ *Actenstücke*, nn. 317-463.

² E.g., *ib.*, nn. 335, appointment of Archbp. of Trèves (Trier), and n. 336 of Archbp. of Mayence (Mainz).

³ *Ib.*, n. 348.

the people against the Jews, and Rudolf had, apparently, taken advantage of the disturbance to imprison "their chief master". For his release, we are told, the Jews offered Rudolf twenty thousand marks,¹ and laid the case before the Pope. Nicholas at once wrote to the King, and, whilst praising his actions generally, reminded him that the Jews ought to be treated with kindness if only because Our Lord was of their race. He therefore begged him to restore the Jew to full liberty, if it was ascertained that he had not done anything wrong.² Whether from respect for the Pope and the Apostolic See as he had been asked, or by reason of the money or of simple justice, Rudolf restored the rabbi to liberty, fined his Christian aggressors, and bade the archbishop of Mayence publicly proclaim that the Christians had greatly wronged the Jews.³

Nicholas
opposes
baronial
oppression.

As Rudolf's guiding principles were, while striving in Germany to restore the central authority, to leave Italy, as much as possible, to itself, and to work in harmony with the Church, there was no room for misunderstandings between him and Nicholas. Acts of oppression of ecclesiastics proceeded now, not from the head of the Empire, but from insubordinate members. The greater Princes carried on private wars as they pleased. Accordingly we find Nicholas appealing to Rudolf to put a curb on their licence.

The arch-
bishop of
Cologne is
taken
prisoner.

On the Rhine there was strife between Sigfrid, archbishop of Cologne, and other nobles on the one hand, and, on the other, John, Duke of Brabant, Count Adolf von Berg and others. Adolf wanted the archbishopric

¹ *Chron. Colmar.*, ad a. 1288, ap. Böhmer, *Fontes*, ii, p. 72, or ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii. Cf. *Annales C.*, ap. *ib.*, p. 23. "Rex R. cœpit . . . Judeum qui a Judeis magnus in multis scientiis dicebatur."

² Ep. June 22, 1288, ap. *Kalt.*, p. 341.

³ *Chron. C.*, *ib.* In justice to Rudolf it must be stated that there is no record of his actually having received the marks.

of Cologne for his brother, and Duke John wanted the Duchy of Limburg which was claimed by one of the allies of the archbishop. A battle was fought near Cologne at Worringen (1288), and the archbishop was defeated and imprisoned by those, who, wrote the Pope, "are declared to be his vassals." Prelates and laymen, continued Nicholas, have already, to no purpose, striven to induce Duke John and his confederates to cease to maltreat the archbishop and his church. The Pope, therefore, earnestly exhorted Rudolf to insist on the immediate release of the archbishop.¹ The archbishop was indeed set free (1289)²; but no attempt was made by his opponents to cease their encroachments on his church. Accordingly, in 1290, we find Nicholas still taking steps with Rudolf and others in the interests of Sigfrid and his church³; and in that year we have evidence that Rudolf took the matter up, as he summoned the Duke of Brabant to appear before him.⁴ What steps, if any, were taken by the King do not appear to be known, and it would seem that Nicholas, having placed the affair in his hands, took no further action in it.

A much more hardy plunderer of ecclesiastical property was Meinhard II., Duke of Carinthia, and Count of the Tyrol. Seemingly without any justification, he had seized the city of Trent, which was subject to the temporal authority of its bishop, Philip, and possessed himself of various rights and property that belonged to the bishop. Philip appealed for justice to the Pope, and Nicholas, declaring that "in the matter of justice he was a debtor

Meinhard,
count of the
Tyrol.

¹ Ep. n. 358, Aug. 9, 1289, K.

² *Notæ Colonienses*, ap. M. G. SS., xxiv, p. 364; and *Chron. vet. Duc. Brunsv.*, ap. Leibnitz, SS. *Brunsvic.*, ii, 18.

³ *Ib.*, nn. 375-9, Jan. 31, 1290, K.; cf. *ib.*, n. 394, June 13, 1290.

⁴ *Reg. Imperii*, vol. vi, n. 2302. Apr. 29, 1290. See the wholly fantastic account of the imprisonment of Sigfrid given in Menzel, *Hist. of Germany*, ii, 82.

to all", turned to King Rudolf and asked him to adjudicate between the Duke and the Bishop (1289).¹ But Rudolf moved slowly, if at all, and Meinhard would not give heed to any remonstrances which the Pope caused to be made to him.² Consequently, Nicholas instituted process after process against him, and made further appeals to Rudolf to induce him to interfere.³ Meinhard, however, took no heed of the Pope's processes, and even despised his excommunications.⁴

The affair
of Meinhard
settled by
Clement V.

On the death of Nicholas, Meinhard was able to impose upon his simple successor, Celestine V., who ordered the withdrawal of the excommunication issued against him. But Boniface VIII. promptly recalled his predecessor's indulgence,⁵ and in turn took steps against the recalcitrant noble (Nov. 18, 1295).⁶ Before this date, however, the Duke had ceased to give trouble to anybody († Nov. 1, 1295), and it was hoped that the unfortunate situation would now be brought to an end.⁷ But it was not so. The Duke's sons followed in their father's footsteps in their treatment of the Bishop of Trent and his rights. But King Albert was a much stronger man than his father Rudolf. Besides, by his marriage with Elizabeth, Meinhard's daughter, he was the brother-in-law of the Duke's sons. Accordingly, when appealed to by Clement V., he was able, either by force of character or

¹ Cf. n. 362 Kalt.

² N. 381, Feb. 11, 1290.

³ *Ib.*, nn. 415, Nov. 18, 1290; 431, Jan. 23, 1291; 445, Apr. 19, 1291.

⁴ *Ib.*, n. 448, May 23, 1291. Cf. n. 449 and n. 451 for yet another process against Meinhard, May 31, 1291. Cf. nn. 457-8 and 460, Nov. 18, 1291; and 462, Feb. 29, 1292.

⁵ *Ib.*, n. 464, Sept. 3, 1295. He had been also excommunicated at a Council at Salzburg in 1294. *Ann. Mellicenses*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix, 510.

⁶ Process, n. 467 K.

⁷ Cf. n. 474, Sept. 8, 1296, and n. 503, Sept. 17, 1301. These documents show that various supporters of Meinhard were seeking reconciliation.

family influence, to bring the affair to a satisfactory conclusion.¹

The most important negotiations that were entered into by the Pope and Rudolf, concerned not the King's subjects, but himself. In 1289, if not before, Rudolf began to treat with Nicholas about his imperial coronation. His envoys appeared before the Pope in April, and said that their master proposed to come to Italy in the summer, or about the beginning of the coming winter, in order to receive "the diadem of Empire" from his hands. Nicholas replied that, knowing that both before and after he became king, Rudolf had always shown great devotion to the Roman Church, he was anxious to arrange everything for the best with regard to the coronation, and so would send Benvenuto, bishop of Gubbio, to settle everything to their mutual satisfaction.²

Negotiations
for the
imperial
crown,
1289-91.

Nicholas was particularly anxious that the arrangements should not be spoiled by being too hurried. He pointed out that, before he became Pope, he had impressed upon the King's envoys not to hasten the necessary preparations. Because his advice had not been followed, the negotiations for the coronation had ended in nothing.³

This note of caution may have had its effect on Rudolf. At any rate he did not come to Rome at either of the times which he had proposed. It may, on the other hand, have been that such instances of lawlessness among the greater lords of the Empire as we have just narrated, had convinced the King that the time for his leaving Germany for the Rome journey had not yet arrived. At any rate, two subsequent legations of his to the Pope, of

¹ *Ib.*, n. 677. July 7, 1306.

² Ep. of Nich., Apr. 13, 1289, ap. *M. G. LL.*, iii, p. 409; cf. *ib.*, n. 417, p. 410.

³ "Nam alii tui nuntii contra nostrum eis impensum consilium, dum eramus in minori officio constituti, se ad brevitatem termini nimium artaverunt." *Ib.*, p. 409.

which we chance to know,¹ are not recorded to have said anything on the subject of the coronation.

Rudolf's
second
legation,
1290.

Rudolf's second legation was sent for the purpose of again protesting against the grant of tithes to Philip of France for the Aragonese war from dioceses of the Kingdom of Arles or Burgundy, subject to Imperial control. Nicholas had to explain that the tithes were really being given to him, inasmuch as the French King was fighting his battles.² Accordingly, he begged Rudolf "as the most special son of the Church, and its chief defender", to tolerate what had been done, in view of the needs of the Church, and of his express assurance that the reception of the tithes in question would not confer any rights whatsoever in those districts on the King of France.³

Rudolf's
third
legation
regarding
Hungary.

In judging of the character of Rudolf of Hapsburg from the strongly partisan evidence which has come down to us, or from the conclusions of modern writers upon it, it is not easy to say whether the leading aim of his life was to restore the influence of the central authority in Germany or to advance his family. Historians who believe the former, maintain that his efforts to improve the position of his family were made with a view to enabling him the better to subdue the lawlessness of the barons, while those who believe that his sole thought was the aggrandisement of his family, contend that he only opposed such lawlessness as stood in the way of the advantage of his relatives. Without attempting to resolve this question, we will here merely relate one of the things he attempted to do for the advantage of his son Albert, whom he wished to succeed him.

Claimants
for the
throne of
Hungary.

The dissolute, degenerate, Ladislaus IV., King of Hungary, was assassinated on July 19, 1290. Duke

¹ Unfortunately, Rudolf's letters are very largely lost.

² Ep. Nich. July 3, 1290, ap. *M. G. LL.*, iv, p. 438.

³ *Ib.*

Andrew, the heir to the throne, the last male descendant of the house of Arpad, was more than half a Venetian, but, as grandson of King Andrew II., had been acknowledged his heir by Ladislaus.¹ When, however, one reads in one of Hungary's old historians² that it was in the days of Ladislaus that the glory of Hungary began to pass away, and that internal wars were everywhere doing their baleful work, one is also prepared to read that the right to the succession of his throne was disputed.

Duke Andrew was crowned ten days after the death of Ladislaus,³ and at once had to face rivals. The first, an impostor, who pretended to be a brother of the deceased monarch, was soon disposed of. But the pretensions of Rudolf and Charles II. of Sicily were not so easily quashed.

The latter, in behalf of his wife, Mary Arpad, the sister of the late King, wrote to the magnates of Hungary to point out to them that by the death of Ladislaus, the crown belonged "to his most beloved wife, the late King's sister and his heir". But he had heard that "a certain Andrew fellow (Andreacci—Andreatius nomine) from Venice" had seized the kingdom. Appealing to their well known loyalty to their rightful sovereigns, Charles exhorted them to bestow their homage where it was due. If Andrew did not at once give up his pretensions, he would be forced to.⁴ In the spring of the following year, Mary made over her claims to her young son, Charles Martel.⁵ But though he died (1295) a mere titular King

Claim of
Charles II.

¹ John de Thurocz (fifteenth cent.), *Chron. Hungar.*, pt. i, cc. 81–2, p. 80, ed. Frankfort, 1600.

² *Ib.*

³ *Ib.* Cf. S. Katona, *Epit. rer. Hung.*, i, p. 543.

⁴ Ep. of Apr. 21, 1291, ap. *Mon. Hungar. hist., Acta externa*, vol. i, p. 76, ed. W. Gustav, Budapest, 1874. Cf. *ib.*, p. 78, for another similar letter written Sept. 21, 1291, in his own name and in that of his wife, "Mary, Queen of Hungary."

⁵ *Ib.*, n. 101, p. 84. Henceforth Charles Martel signs himself "King of Hungary". See a document of June 7, 1292, ap. *Syllabus Membr.*, ii, pt. i, p. 92.

of Hungary, his son Charles Robert (Carobert) was destined to be one of Hungary's most able rulers. Through him the House of Anjou brought Hungary into close touch with the more westerly nations which was to be maintained for many decades.

Rudolf's
claims to
Hungary.

But a more immediately formidable rival than the young Charles Martel was Rudolf, King of the Romans. Declaring that Hungary was a fief of the Empire, he invested his son Albert of Austria with it. Albert at once attempted to make good his claim, and about Christmas (1290), entered Hungary with a considerable force. King Andrew, however, who was far from wanting in energy, collected a great army, and not only drove Albert out of Hungary, but pushed forward to the very gates of Vienna (1291).¹

Meanwhile, Pope Nicholas had been taking action. Addressing Benvenuto, bishop of Gubbio, he told him that it had come to his knowledge that, on the death of Ladislaus, the greatest disorders had arisen in Hungary.² As it is well known, he added, that that kingdom is subject to the Apostolic See,³ the bishop is ordered, as soon as he gets to Hungary, to summon the clerical and lay magnates of the country, and, in the Pope's name, to prohibit anyone of any rank whatsoever from invading the country to the prejudice of its rights and those of the Holy See.⁴

Rudolf had meanwhile sent a third legation to Nicholas,

¹ This is clear both from the Annals of Austria, and from a diploma of Andrew himself (Aug. 28, 1291), both cited by Katona, *l.c.*

² "Cum . . . Rex Ungariæ rebus sit humanis exemptus, turbationes pericula et scandala gravia in regno Ungariæ sint exorta." Ep. of Sept. 13, 1290, ap. K., n. 404, p. 415. Cf. n. 402.

³ "Ad quam (Ap. See) regnum ipsum pertinere dinoscitur." *Ib.* Cf. the subsequent statement of Bonifacius VIII. "Stephanus Rex Ungariæ . . . ab ipsa sede (of Rome) accepit humiliter coronam et regnum." Ep. Oct. 17, 1301, ap. Theiner, *Mon. Hungar.*, i, p. 387.

⁴ Ep. just cited.

informing him of what he had done with regard to Hungary.¹ Nicholas, however, while declaring that he had no wish to interfere with any rights over Hungary that the King might have, reminded him that that kingdom was known to belong to the Holy See. Accordingly, he exhorted Rudolf not to trespass against the rights of the Holy See, especially as he was its chief defender. Bishop John of Iesi, who was being sent as a legate to Hungary, would explain the Pope's position more at length.²

Bishop John, thus commissioned to go to Hungary, was to send information to the Pope on the exact state of affairs. He was, moreover, to befriend Isabella, the outraged wife of the late King Ladislaus.³ Nicholas then wrote to the archbishops of Gran and Kalocsa to inform them that he was sending a legate to Hungary. At the same time he expressed his great astonishment that, whereas during the lifetime of Ladislaus they were constantly complaining to the Holy See of the wretched state of their country, they had not sent him any details about the death of their King, or about the claimants to his throne.⁴

As to the immediate result of this energetic action of Nicholas, we are unfortunately very much in the dark. The attitude
of Pope
Nicholas. If the Hungarian primates, stirred out of what Nicholas called their "blameworthy negligence", sent him in reports of the condition of affairs, they have not reached us; nor has the report of the legate John come down to us. Historians, moreover, both ancient and modern, by not carefully attending to dates, have added to the darkness.

¹ The King's letters are lost, but from the Pope's reply we know that he told Nicholas: "Nobili viro Alberto duci Austriæ nato tuo et ejus heredibus . . . in feudum regnum Ungariæ concessisti". Ep. of Dec. 28, 1290, to Rudolf, ap. *M. G. LL., Constit.*, iii, pt. i, p. 439.

² *Ib.*, and the following letter (n. 454) of Jan. 31, 1291.

³ Cf. epp. of Jan. 2, 1291, to John, nn. 594-6, 600-2, ap. Theiner, *Mon. Hung.*, i, p. 370 ff.

⁴ Nn. 603-4, Jan. 31, 1291, ap. *ib.*, p. 374.

The cause of most of this trouble would appear to be the Chronicle of St. Antoninus or of Villani. The former tells us that in 1290 Charles II., then in Naples, caused his son to be crowned King of Hungary by a papal legate.¹ Now Charles II. was not then in Naples, nor had his wife, Mary, by that time made over her claim to Hungary to her son. Nicholas IV., moreover, died Apr. 4, 1292, and we know for certain that as late as Apr. 13, 1292, Charles Martel still called himself "Prince of Salerno".² It was not till a month or two later that he subscribed himself as King of Hungary.³ If then in that interval he was crowned King by anyone, it was not by a legate of a Pope, because there was no Pope at the time. But if he was then crowned by one who had been a legate of a Pope, it is quite certain that he was not crowned by the order, or even by the connivance of Pope Nicholas IV.⁴ There is then only one conclusion to draw. Nicholas had not received any information which caused him to see any reason for interfering with the election of Andrew III. Accordingly the Hungarian historian, Katona, concludes that Nicholas recognized Andrew as the legitimate ruler of Hungary, and he adds that he had been unable to find any document in which the Pope denied him the title of King.⁵

¹ Tit. xx, c. v, n. 7, p. 230, ed. Lyons, 1587 (perhaps from G. Villani, *Chron.*, vii, 134, al. 135). "Ac etiam per legatum papæ fecit eum coronari in regem Hungariæ."

² *Syllab. membran.*, ii, pt. i, p. 90.

³ *Ib.*, p. 92. M. Riccio in his rare *Saggio di Cod. diplom.*, ii, pt. i, pp. 6, 7, gives documents of Apr. 11 and 18, 1292, in which Charles Martel signs himself King of Hungary.

⁴ With still less ground Sayons, *Hist. des Hongrois*, i, p. 290, pretends that S. Celestine V. crowned him.

⁵ *Epit. chron. rer. Hung.*, i, p. 547, n. 451. "Nullum ego sane documentum adhuc reperi, quo Nicolaus Andream administratoris dumtaxat, non regis, titulo condecoraverit." From what has now been said on this matter, the reader can see how unfounded are the statements about the crowning of Charles Martel by Nicholas' legate,

In any case, Andrew III. was able to maintain his position as King of Hungary till his early death (1301). Andrew keeps his realm. Rudolf, greatly disappointed that the electors, at the diet of Frankfort (May, 1291), had refused in his lifetime to name his son Albert as his successor, had died July 15, 1291, and Charles Martel was in a position to push such claims as he had to the throne of Hungary by force of arms.

The Hungarian succession would appear to have been the last important matter which engaged the joint attention of the Pope and Rudolf. Death of Rudolf, 1291. The King of the Romans died July 15, 1291, and, it would appear, before news of the fall of Acre (May 18, 1291) had reached him. As we have seen,¹ Nicholas did not receive the news of that disastrous event till after August 1, so that we may take it for granted that Rudolf was not stirred by it, as the hand of death had prevented the tidings from reaching him. This was most unfortunate, as Nicholas had to face the grave situation without the counsels of the wise old King of the Romans.² If, however, the Germans at the time, and we now regard Rudolf as wise for devoting his energies to increasing his power in Germany, many of the Italians of his day blamed him for allowing:—

“Through greediness of yonder realms detained,
The garden of the empire (Italy) to run waste.”³

and about that Pope's requiring Rudolf “to support the prince of Naples”—to be found in W. Coxe, *Hist. of the House of Austria*, i, p. 52. Though adversely criticizing these statements in Coxe, we would quote with approval the words with which he concludes his sketch of his character (p. 58): “we must place Rhodolph among the best and greatest princes who ever filled a throne.”

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 55.

² A chronicler recording his death, praises his wisdom, and calls attention to his big nose as a mark of it: “Fecit magnalia in vita sua; fuit enim robustus usque in senectutem ejus et sapiens, magnum habens nasum.” *Ann. Lubicensis* (fourteenth cent.), ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvi, p. 415.

³ Cf. Dante, *Purg.*, vi, 103–5; Villani, *Chron.*, vii, 145 (al. 146).

Philip the
Fair.

Of very different character to the energetic, clear-sighted Rudolf, soldier and statesman, was that mask, Philip le Bel, that "image", fair but brainless.¹ However, as the quarrel between the ruler or rulers of France and the Papacy did not come to a head till the pontificate of Boniface VIII., we shall not here say our last word on the obscure character of its, at any rate, nominal head, Philip le Bel, till we treat of the reign of Boniface.

Attacks on
the position
of the
Church.

Meanwhile we can feel that storm is nearer under Nicholas IV. than it was under Honorius IV. It was more clear that there was a bitter anti-clerical party in France, and that the regime of arbitrariness had advanced. The King's officials were more frequently acting against recognized law or custom. On March 1, 1289, Nicholas addressed a weighty letter to Philip, urging him not to compel Walter, bishop of Poitiers, to appear before the officials of the royal court. The Pope pointed out that, by immemorial civil and canonical privilege, the bishop was exempted from pleading before the King or any lay authority.² He reminded the King that the matter concerning which the royal officials had endeavoured to force the bishop to appear before them was the fraudulent acquisition of an episcopal fief by a certain Geoffrey de Valeya, a cleric of the diocese of Angers. Then he tried to impress upon Philip that to treat the bishops of his realm in the way in which Walter was being treated was unworthy of the royal honour, inasmuch as it was his duty to defend them. If heed were not taken to his remonstrance, he would have to look for a suitable remedy.

¹ Bernard Saisset, bishop of Pamiers, was accused of saying that Philip "non erat homo, nec bestia, sed imago". Ap. Martène, *Thes. nov.*, i, p. 1331.

² "At idem episcopus . . . regali privilegio et possessione ac etiam canonica libertate a tempore a quo non extat memoria communitus, quod coram rege Francie vel alio iudice laicali non tenetur in iudicio respondere, etc." *Reg.*, n. 709.

The bishops of Evreux and Senlis were ordered to make a personal representation to Philip on the bishop's behalf, and Walter himself was told that, except against the persons or chapel of the King and Queen, he could freely use "the spiritual sword".¹

Soon, other complaints reached the Pope of similar wrongs being inflicted on the churches of Chartres,² Lyons,³ etc. It was always more or less the same story. On one plea or another ecclesiastics were brought before the civil courts, and the situation was aggravated by a royal decree⁴ to the effect that "in the King's court no prelate of the kingdom of France could act by a proctor no matter how legally constituted, or commence an action no matter how trivial".⁵ The Pope pointed out what harm this would do to the country, as it would compel bishops to be absent from their sees for long periods. He accordingly urged the King to withdraw or modify the decree as contrary to both law and equity.⁶

As the situation did not improve, Nicholas sent to France two experienced cardinals to deal with it, to wit, Gerard, bishop of Sabina, and Benedict Gaetani, deacon of St. Nicholas "in carcere Tulliano".⁷ They were also sent, as we see, in the interests of the Sicilian affair, and of the Crusades.⁸ Seeing that no more is

Legates sent
to France,
1290.

¹ Epp. of March 1 and 9, 1289; *ib.*, nn. 710-11. Cf. nn. 752-3.

² Ep. of March 19, 1289; *ib.*, n. 736.

³ Epp. of July 18, 1289; *ib.*, nn. 1175-7.

⁴ "Statutum seu consuetum, ut patrie verbis utamur" it is called by the Pope. Ep. Apr. 13, 1289; *ib.*, n. 825.

⁵ *Ib.*

⁶ "Statutum . . . utpote juri contrarium, dissonum equitati, etc." *Ib.*

⁷ Epp. of March 23, 1290. *Reg.*, nn. 4296-9.

⁸ Potthast, nn. 23226-7. Cf. 23246, 23500. A few days before he died, Nicholas was writing to the King to get justice for the Church of Tours. Epp. of March 27, 1292; ap. *Reg.*, nn. 7394-6.

heard of the grievances of the churches in question, it may be that "the angels of peace", as the Pope called the legates, were able, at any rate temporarily, to find with the King some "ways and means by which the troubled waters were smoothed".¹ It may, however, also be that the excitement caused by the news of the fall of Acre pushed the troubles of the churches out of sight.

Molestation
of bankers.

But churchmen were not the only ones whose rights were not respected by the grasping officials of the Crown. On November 8, 1291, Nicholas had to complain to the King that some merchants of Lucca had been seized along with their goods, and to beg him to restore them to liberty.² Some of these merchant bankers belonged to the principal firms connected with the apostolic *camera* (treasury), firms which, said the Pope, "had served the Roman Church long and usefully."³ Nevertheless, only a few weeks before Nicholas died, these trusted bankers were still in jail, despite renewed papal protests.⁴ Yet all this time the Pope, by enforcing the payment of the tithe for the Aragonese affair, was putting money into Philip's hands.⁵

¹ This would seem to be proved by the words of the anonymous biographer of Nicholas, published by J. Rubens: "Concordaverunt tamen clerum cum rege, propter quod aliqui putant eos (the legates) principaliter missos." P. 169. The passage is from the Chronicle of Jordan, ap. Muratori, *Antiq.*, iv, p. 1017.

² Potthast, n. 23859.

³ *Reg.*, n. 7384, Oct. 3, 1291.

⁴ *Reg.*, n. 7393, March 15, 1292.

⁵ *Reg.*, n. 2114, Feb. 9, 1290. Cf. *ib.*, 6316, Dec. 18, 1291, and Potthast, n. 23874, Dec. 13, 1291, where we see Nicholas refusing to satisfy the insatiable greed of the King for further tithes for doing little or nothing in connection with "that special business of the Roman Church, the affair of Aragon". *Reg.*, n. 2114. See also the bull of May 31, 1289, naming the archbp. of Rouen and the bp. of Auxerre collectors of the tenth, and prescribing in detail how the tax was to be raised. Ap. "Docs. inédits relatifs à Philippe le Bel," by E. Boutaric in *Notices et extraits*, etc., t. xx, p. 91 ff.

After what we have said above¹ about the work of Crusades. Nicholas for the preservation and redemption of the Holy Land from the Moslem, there is no need to say much more about it here, especially as the subject will come up again in connection with grants of "Saladin tithes" to King Edward. We will but note now that before the fall of Acre (May 18, 1291), Nicholas most earnestly besought the French King to take on himself the protection of the Holy Land, at least until the general Crusade was ready.² Grants of money collected for the Crusades were made to him,³ and after the fall of Acre, Nicholas urgently implored him to imitate the zeal of his ancestors for the welfare of the Holy Land, and to send a fleet thither at once in order to help such Christians as were left there, and to be a menace to the enemy.⁴ Quite unmoved by the Pope's appeals to piety or to glory, Philip or his officials took "Crusade" money, but did not send a galley to sea.

Whether the Pope's appeals,⁵ and the real zeal of our own King would have launched a new Crusade, it is impossible to say, because not only Rudolf and Alfonso of Aragon died before the time appointed for its departure, but, most unfortunately, Nicholas himself also died (Apr. 4, 1292). Had only a zealous Pope succeeded him at once, a great Crusade might possibly have again left the shores

¹ P. 55 ff.

² *Reg.*, 4409-14, Dec. 5-16, 1290.

³ *Ib.*, n. 4413-14.

⁴ *Reg.*, 6778, Aug. 23, 1291. Cf. nn. 6779-81. Nicholas himself, however, sent 20 galleys to Cyprus to help the fugitives from Acre who had fled there. Cf. Sanudo, *Secreta*, ap. Bongars, ii, 232.

⁵ *Ib.*, nn. 6782-805. Cf. the chronicles of the time, e.g., *Ann. Blandin.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, v, p. 33 f.; *Ann. Colmar.*, ap. Böhmer, *Fontes*, ii, 27; *Will. of Nangis*, i, 279; Eberhardi, *Annales*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii, 594; Bartholomew of Cotton, *Chron.*, p. 176. One result of the Pope's appeal for advice was that Bro. Fidentius of Padua presented him with a special treatise "*De recuperatione Terræ Sanctæ*," ap. Golubovich, *Biblioteca*, i, p. 291 f., 426 ff., and ii, 1-60.

of Europe. But a disastrously long vacancy of the Holy See followed the death of Nicholas, and effectually destroyed all chances of the hoped-for Crusade. Although the great crusading era which had lasted for two hundred years closed with Nicholas IV., it is a mistake to suppose that crusading efforts died with him. For more than a hundred years after his death one effort after another was actually made to reconquer the Holy Land.¹

¹ Cf. J. D. le Roulx, *La France en Orient*, i, p. 6 ; Paris, 1886.

CHAPTER V

ROME AND THE PAPAL STATES. ART.

WHEN Nicholas IV. ascended the pontifical throne, he found the city of Rome, which the firm rule of the two brothers Savelli, Pope and Senator, had kept well in hand, in a state of unwonted tranquillity. That it would remain in peace he was the more encouraged to believe, seeing that the Romans named him their Senator for life.¹ Accordingly, with a light heart, he betook himself to Rieti about the middle of May (1289), to preside over the twenty-third General Chapter of the Franciscan Order. With Matteo Rosso, the cardinal protector of the Order, he was present at the election of the new General, Bro. Raymund Geoffrey of Provence. Though it is said that Raymund was not the candidate desired by the Pope, he nevertheless confirmed the election.² Raymund belonged to the party of the Spirituals or Zealots, and it may have been that Nicholas, knowing his unbalanced views, was loath to see him elected General.³ It was after this Chapter that Nicholas crowned Charles II.

Although the whole subject of the disturbances in Rome during the pontificate of Nicholas is most obscure,

Troubles in Rome.

¹ Vitale, *Storia de' Senatori*, i, p. 196. The foundation for this assertion would appear to be the epitaphs on his first and later tomb. The earlier epitaph describes him as "fascibus auctus" (ap. P. de Angelis, *Descript. S.M. Maj.*, p. 158), and the later states "Senatoriam P.R. dignitatem sedi apost. restituit". *Ib.*, p. 158.

² *Chron. XXIV. Gen.*, p. 419, ed. Quaracchi. Cf. Mariano of Florence, *Compend. Chron.*, p. 54, and *Catal. Gen. Minist.*, ap. M. G. SS., xxxii, p. 669.

³ About him see the note to the *Chron. XXIV.*, and the *Chron.* of St. Antoninus, tit. xxiv, c. 9, n. 11, p. 782.

it would seem that disorders broke out in the city soon after the Pope's departure from it. Indeed, the Annals of Colmar which speak of these troubles declare, obviously quite mistakenly, that the Romans expelled the Pope from Rome because he had, against their will, crowned King Charles. They add that in the course of the fighting attending the expulsion more than five hundred men were killed.¹ As to the fact of the disorders, we have the additional testimony of Bonincontri, and he, too, would seem to imply that they broke out in the early part of the Pope's reign. After telling of his election, he adds: "At that time the Romans were agitated by civil broils; and the whole city was a prey to arson, rapine, and murder."² They were equally "agitated" in the last year of Nicholas' reign. They started fighting among themselves in the month of February, 1292, and, according to the *Annals of Parma*, "plundered churches, religious houses, and foreigners."³

Nicholas
favours the
Colonnas.

We have evidence, moreover, that Nicholas rather aggravated than diminished the disorders by his ignorance of the most elementary ideas of government. It is possible that he even failed to realize that a civil ruler must have material force behind him, and it appears certain that he failed to understand that the ruler must treat all impartially, and compel all alike to obey the law. We are assured that Nicholas, on the contrary, favoured one party, and that the Colonnas.⁴ The

¹ *Ann. C.*, ap. Böhmer, *Fontes*, ii, 26.

² *Hist. Sicula*, iii, p. 57. He assigns these troubles to the year of the release of Charles II. (1288).

³ *Ad an. 1292*, p. 63, new ed.

⁴ *Cf.* Ptolemy of Lucca, *H.E.*, xxiv, c. 21. Despite his goodness, he erred: "quia nimis uni generi adhærebat." See also F. Pipinus, *Chron.*, iv, 23, ap. *R. I. SS.*, ix, p. 727. Boniface VIII. is said to have incurred the hatred of the Colonnas because he did not follow them as Nicholas had done: "quibus . . . non annuebat, prout annuerat N. IV." *Cron. Urbevet.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, xv, pt. v, p. 201, new ed.

Bolognese Dominican historian, Franciscus Pipinus, who had a greater craving for marvels than for accuracy,¹ assures us that there was a *story* current to the effect that Nicholas was much attached to a youth (*puerulus*) who was thought to have the gift of prophecy. On one occasion he said to this youth: "Nicholas, bishop, servant of the servants of God, by whom is he ruled?" The reply came promptly, "By the men of the Column" (the Colonnas).² The same historian goes on to tell us how Nicholas was lampooned in a pamphlet entitled: "*Incipit initium malorum*" or "*Principium malorum*". The first Pope to be caricatured in this pamphlet was Nicholas III.³ Pipinus describes these caricatures from that of Nicholas III. to that of Clement V., the last Pope of whom he writes. Attached to them, he tells us, were "most obscure inscriptions". Nicholas was represented as enclosed in a column⁴ out of which only appeared his head covered with a mitre. In front of him were two other columns, representing perhaps the two Colonna cardinals, James, created by Nicholas III., and Peter, created by Nicholas himself. On the top of one of them was the head of a bird holding in its beak a nest, in which was the head of an aged cleric. The inscription on the caricature ran: "Nicholas IV. Confusion. Error will be stirred up."

This book of caricatures is evidently like one which was produced in the fifteenth century,⁵ and is still preserved in the Vatican library.⁶ It gives a series of coloured pictures

¹ He wrote after 1320.

² Pipinus, *ib.*,

³ *Ib.*, c. 20, p. 724.

⁴ It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that the arms of the Colonna family were and are a column.

⁵ Certainly after 1431, a date given on fol. 11 v.

⁶ *Cod. reg. Lat.*, 580. It was published in Venice, 1600, under the title of *Vaticinia sive Propetiae Abbatis Joachim*, with illustrations. See Pastor, *History of the Popes*, i, p. 151 ff.

of the Popes from Nicholas III. to Eugenius IV., purporting to illustrate prophecies about them. It is a distinctly scurrilous production, and of no historical value whatsoever for the story of the Popes of this period. To show its nature, we will give its presentment of Nicholas IV. Wearing a tiara of *three crowns*, he is shown seated between two female figures. The one on his right is putting a chalice into his hand, while on the same side a small winged dragon is seen climbing or flying up to his knee. The abusive inscription below declares that Nicholas, useless to the world which he neglects, is a slave to drink and impurity.

Positions for
Colonnas.

There is perhaps then evidence enough that Nicholas did favour the Colonna family. He made Peter "de Columna" a cardinal, Stephen and Landulf of the same stock rectors respectively of the Romagna and the Duchy of Spoleto, and Giovanni (John) Colonna Senator in his own place, after he had made him Rector of the March of Ancona.¹ The succession of Senators during the reign of Nicholas is now fairly well established, and it would seem that it cannot be maintained that he also named another Colonna, James (Giacomo) Senator after John. When Nicholas became Pope some believe that the brother of Honorius IV., Pandulf Savelli, was still Senator.² However, we know now from documents of Feb. 3 and May 24, that Matteo Rosso Orsini was Senator for the second time,³ and Berthold Orsini (de filiis Ursi) was certainly Senator on June 12, 1288.⁴ He was

¹ *Reg.*, n. 7089, June 27, 1288; and Potthast, nn. 22606-9, for the nomination of Landulf.

² They point out that Honorius: "Pandulphum deinde fratrem in magistratu Senatorio confirmavit." Bonincontri, *Hist. Sic.*, iii, p. 55.

³ Docs. ap. Bouïard, *Les institutions de Rome*, pp. 246-7.

⁴ *Reg. N. IV.*, n. 7050. Other authentic documents show him still Senator on Oct. 14, Dec. 17, 1288, and Feb. 12, 1289, ap. Gregorovius, *Rome*, v, pt. ii, p. 512-13, n. 3.

apparently followed by Nicholas Conti and Luca Savelli.¹ Then came the famous John Colonna to whom we have letters addressed by the Pope,² and who was certainly Senator from August, 1290, till May 19, 1291.³ The Register of Nicholas shows us that in July and October,⁴ 1291, the Senator of Rome was Roffred (or Loffred) Gaetani. He was probably the Senator at the time of the Pope's death, though sometime in 1292, certainly by May 10, he was succeeded by Stephen Colonna and Orso Orsini (de filiis Ursi).⁵

Taking it as a fact that the Gaetani and the Savelli as well as the Orsini were at this period in open hostility to the Colonnas and their friends the Annibaldi, we may well, with this authentic list of his Senators in front of us, assert that Nicholas at any rate did not give undue civil authority to the Colonnas. The list shows that he aimed at balancing the influence in Rome of its most powerful families. It is true that in the person of the Senator John (Giovanni) the Colonnas made a bold bid to keep the civil authority in their hands. We are assured

Had the Colonnas all the Senatorial power?

¹ Gregorovius, *ib.*, p. 513 n., quotes a document to show they were Senators on Jan. 1, 1290, and the Senator, John Colonna, in an important document of Sept. 9, 1290, speaks of them as "his predecessors"; i.e., he speaks of what happened "tempore nostro et tempore senatus dominorum De Comite, et Luce de Sabello". Ap. Pinzi, *Storia di Viterbo*, ii, p. 464.

² Cf. epp. of Aug. and Sept. 27, 1290, *Reg.*, nn. 7259, 7264; Vitale, *Senatori*, i, p. 199 f.

³ See a series of authentic documents in Pinzi, *Storia di Viterbo*, ii, p. 459 ff.

⁴ Nn. 7333 (July 5) and 7339 (Oct.). In the former letter the Pope speaks of his beloved son the noble "Johannes de Columpna de Urbe" who was Senator before Roffred. From n. 7369 it would appear that he was a cleric and a nephew of Benedict Gaetani (afterwards Boniface VIII).

⁵ *Chron. Parm.*, ad an., 1292, p. 63, new ed. The above list may be used to amend those in Vitale, Gregorovius (*ll.cc.*), and in L. P. Olivieri, *Il Senato Romano*, p. 224 f., as it, in turn, may be amplified from Bouïard, *l.c.*

that "the Romans", i.e., the Colonna faction, in 1290, made John "de Columpna"¹ their lord, led him in triumph through Rome in a chariot, and saluted him as Cæsar. Thus encouraged, John tried to act the Cæsar; and, as we shall see, strove, but in vain, to subject Viterbo and other places to the authority of the Senate.² But despite all his assumption of power, he was not able to maintain himself in office for more than the year.

The attempt
to subject
Viterbo to
the Senate.

Whilst Conti and Savelli were Senators (1290), the Viterbese had been summoned to acknowledge the overlordship of the Senate, and as a sign thereof to send a number of players to the carnival games at Monte Testaccio, as did the people of Terracina, Anagni, etc.³ This the people of Viterbo refused to do, and appealed to the Pope. Nicholas, who at the time was at Orvieto, replied that the action of the Senators was prejudicial to the Holy See. Viterbo belonged solely (*pleno jure*) to the Roman Church, and consequently its people must not take orders from "the Senators and the other officials who at the moment govern the city".⁴ But the Romans were always jealous of the Viterbese⁵; and, as the latter would not acknowledge their suzerainty, they proceeded to ravage their territory. Infuriated by the wanton damage inflicted on their vineyards and cornfields, the

¹ *Chron. Parmense*, ad an. 1290, p. 60. The Chronicle by mistake speaks of *James*. He was the cardinal.

² *Chron. Parm.*, *ib.*

³ See the process of John Colonna against the Viterbese of Sept. 9, 1290, given in full by Pinzi, *Viterbo*, ii, p. 460 ff., both in Italian and in the original Latin.

⁴ Ep. June 17, 1290, *Reg.*, n. 7252, or Pinzi, ii, 449.

⁵ Pinzi's important book shows how the Viterbese even of to-day dislike the Romans! In 1290, the walls of Viterbo had been greatly strengthened, as an inscription in Gothic characters still proclaims:—

"His igitur duris, lector, circumdata muris
Urbs ego Viterbi, cui stat protectio Verbi,
Pape sic quarti Nicolai tradita parti."

Part of the twelve verse inscription given by Pinzi, *l.c.*, p. 454, n.

Viterbese put themselves in the wrong by cruelly massacring a number of Romans whom they had captured.¹ Thereupon the Senator, John Colonna, summoned the Viterbese to pay a fine of twenty-five thousand pounds of the money of Provins, and damages to the families of the slain (Sept. 9, 1290).² The unfortunate people called upon Nicholas to arbitrate between them and the Romans. He accordingly put the matter into the hands of cardinals James Colonna and Benedict Gaetani. The final award of the arbitrators and of the Pope was so far favourable to the Viterbese that the Romans at first tried to render it more severe. But the cardinals' conditions were maintained, and there was once more peace between the rival cities (1291).³

Viterbo was not the only city to which the Senators attempted to dictate. At their request Nicholas had to come to the assistance of the men of Aricia, "vassals of the Roman Church," and to decide that, for crimes committed in their district by strangers, they were not to be punished by the Senators in any way.⁴ He was also called upon by the people of Terracina to help them to maintain their rights in the face of the Senator or his friends. Like Orvieto,⁵ Ascoli,⁶ etc., Terracina

Nicholas
defends the
rights of
Aricia
and
Terracina.

¹ See the proclamation or sentence of John Colonna, ap. *ib.*, p. 462.

² *Ib.*

³ See the original documents of Apr.-May 19, 1291, from the local archives in Viterbo in Pinzi and Signorelli, *Viterbo nella storia della chiesa*, p. 301. The latter author, too, is full of the superiority of the Viterbese, and tells how "La ferezza dei Viterbesi . . . s'impose ai degeneri figli di Roma". See also the documents ap. P. Savignoni, "L'archivio storico del comune di Viterbo" ap. *Archivio Rom. di Storia Patria*, 1896, p. 15 ff., n. 151 ff. Many of the docs. give the amounts the Viterbese had to pay in compensation for wounding Romans "with effusion of blood".

⁴ Document of May 10, 1290 ap. Theiner, *Cod. Dip.*, n. 474.

⁵ *Ann. Urbevetani*, ap. *R.I.SS.*, t. xv, pt. 5, p. 162, new ed. "D. N. IV papa fuit potestas et capitaneus Urbisveteris."

⁶ Theiner, *l.c.*, n. 471; *Reg.*, n. 2413, and 6961, 6963-5.

had named Nicholas their Senator for life.¹ First it was the Senator, Berthold Orsini, who had to be called to task by the Pope for attempting to claim jurisdiction over Terracina as well as other places in the Campagna. He had to be strongly reminded that the cities of the Campagna and the Maritima were directly subject to the Roman Church both in spirituals and temporals, and he was ordered to cancel any action he had taken against them.²

This interference of Nicholas did not free the people of Terracina from trouble. Their liberties were next assailed by the Annibaldi, possibly with the secret support of the Colonnas, one of whom was then Senator. To him (John Colonna) Nicholas at once wrote from Orvieto in behalf of his harassed subjects. As this letter failed to produce any effect, the Pope wrote him some stronger ones. He told him that certain Annibaldi "and other Roman citizens" had attempted to seize Terracina which belonged to the Holy See, and, failing in that, were ravaging the district. The Senator must punish the culprits, and let them know that, if they do not desist, they will be deprived of all the lands which they hold of the Church. He must also exact guarantees that they will refrain from such conduct in the future.³ Nicholas achieved his immediate purpose; but the Annibaldi did not cease to scheme to get control of the city, so that later he had to forbid the communal authorities to allow any of them to enter it.⁴

¹ *Reg.*, 7501, July 22, 1289.

² Ep. of Nov. 22, 1288, given by Vitale, *Senatori*, i, p. 197, but wrongly assigned by him to John Colonna.

³ Ep. of Sept. 27, 1290, ap. *Reg.*, n. 7264. Cf. 7265. The Senator must fulfil the Pope's orders, "non obstante quod dicti Terracinenses dicuntur in Capitolio diffidati."

⁴ *Reg.*, n. 7607, May 29, 1291.

From among the very large number of Nicholas' letters ^{The Aldo-} which are concerned with the States of the Church, we ^{brandini} may pick out a few more to bring out still more clearly ^{country.} the difficulties which he had in preventing aggressive barons from rendering themselves masters of portions of his dominions. We have seen how on the death (1284) of the "Red Count" (Aldobrandino Rosso da Pitigliano), the notorious Guy de Montfort left the Romagna to protect the great estates of his wife, Margaret, the count's heiress. Known as the "contado aldobrandesco", they stretched from Monte Argentario to Monte Amiata, and along the valley of the Paglia to lake Bolsena, and from there to the sea by Corneto.¹ After defending his wife's rights against the pretensions of her relative, the count of Santa Fiora, Guy fought for the Angevins, was captured (1287), and died in prison (1291). Deprived of the strong arm of her husband, and at length wearied by his absence, "the noble lady Margaret, countess de Pitiliano," appears to have sought and found another protector and comforter in the person of the ruffian "Nellus de Petra". With the connivance of the Countess (occulta dolositate), he took possession of one of her fortresses, that of Pereta, and from it plundered the neighbourhood with impunity. Nicholas, accordingly, instructed the Rector of the Patrimony of Tuscany to summon the pair to give up the fortress to him.² We may conclude that the summons was unheeded, for, about a year later, Nicholas declared that "the noble lady Margaret", wife of Guy de Montfort, detained in prison by enemies, was unable to rule the fief she held of the Holy See, and that consequently her fief, "the county of Soana" was to be put under the strong control of Cardinal

¹ Such is the description given by G. Gaetani in "Margherita Aldobrandesca e i Gaetani" ap. *Archivio Rom. di stor. pat.*, an. 1291, p. 5.

² *Reg.*, nn. 7260-1, Aug. 23, 1290.

Benedict Gaetani.¹ This sentence, however, was far from putting a term to the unprincipled conduct of this dissolute woman. Accordingly Gaetani, now become Pope Boniface VIII., formally declared her deprived of her fief altogether, inasmuch as she had illegally alienated part of it and had equally illegally married the count of Santa Fiora, her cousin and former foe, and a public enemy of the Church.²

Privileges
granted for
annual
payments.

Other rights and properties belonging to the Holy See Nicholas was able to recover for money. Thus, by paying about six hundred and sixty-six florins of gold, he was able to recover all the rights over the castrum Miranda in the diocese of Narni, which had already been bought by Pope Gregory IX.³ Other rights Nicholas sold for money, and so we have many documents which show that, for money, he conceded to a number of cities the right to elect their own magistrates.⁴ In the same way, certain nobles were granted civil and criminal jurisdiction in their estates.⁵

The Pope
strives for
local justice.

Still, despite the concession of so much local liberty, Nicholas would not suffer the cities to make regulations which were detrimental to the general good. True to the traditions of the Holy See, he would not suffer the levying of new tolls, and we find him blaming various towns for not paying sufficient attention to the security

¹ *Reg.*, n. 5751 f., Aug. 2, 1291.

² See his sentence of March 10, 1303, ap. Potthast, n. 25219, from Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, ii, 744. For further information regarding Margaret and the dissipated men with whom she was in touch, see the article of Gaetani.

³ *Lib. Censuum*, i, p. 598, ed. Fabre.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 594 ff., 59, n. 365; *Reg.*, 4477-87; Theiner, *Cod. dip.*, i, nn. 476, 480, etc.

⁵ Cf. *Cronache di Fermo*, pp. 495, 551, ed. De Minicis; and Theiner, *l.c.*, n. 469.

of the roads in their locality, or for acts of injustice.¹ For these latter he had also at times to blame his own officials. The knight, John de Pileo, surnamed Buccaporcus, whom he had appointed Rector of Benevento,² had with his insolent followers, so it was told to the Pope by the citizens, grievously oppressed them with a view to wringing money from them. The situation was complicated by the action of the archbishop, John de Castrocoeli, who, as it was reported, had interfered with the jurisdiction of the Rector and had acted as if he also were Rector.³ One result of this clashing of authorities was that one of the papal revenue officials⁴ was killed. Nicholas at once caused inquiries to be made into the matter, summoned the archbishop to Rome,⁵ and instituted a legal process against the Rector (1291).⁶ As, however, Nicholas died not long after the process was opened, the result of it does not appear to be known. But, because Celestine V. named the archbishop cardinal and vice-chancellor of the Holy See (1294),⁷ we certainly cannot assume that he was able to clear himself of the charges brought against him. According to James Stefaneschi, John was a man "skilled in dissimulation" and became cardinal in one of Celestine's foolish and irregular promotions.⁸

¹ *Lib. Cens., ib.*, p. 596, n. 363; *Chron. di F., l.c.*, p. 492; *Reg.*, 2048. Nicholas was podestà of Fermo. *Reg.*, 7114. See *Reg.*, 7179-84. "Contra prædones." "In districtu vestro . . . securus transitus non habetur" to Chiusi, etc. For an act of piracy, *cf. Reg.*, nn. 7340-1.

² *Reg.*, nn. 7247-8, March 9, 1290.

³ *Reg.*, n. 7262, c. Sept., 1290. "Quasi alterius rectoris in temporalibus officio fungeretur."

⁴ *Reg.*, n. 7287, Nov. 4, 1290, "Qui ad conscribendum introitus et expensas curiæ in civitate Beneventana constitutus erat."

⁵ *Reg.*, nn. 7286, Nov. 4, 1290.

⁶ Loye, *Les archives de la Chambre Apostolique au XIV^e siècle*, p. 3, Paris, 1899.

⁷ Stefaneschi, *Vita Cælest. V.*, iii, 10, ap. *R. I. SS.*, iii, p. 637.

⁸ "Simulare sciens." *Ib.*

No leagues
to be formed.

Disorders such as we have just chronicled in Benevento were rampant all over the papal States. Other cities besides Rome were striving to dominate other cities, and nobles were fighting to subject to their authority other nobles, and to grasp all power in the towns in which they lived. Nicholas was greatly distressed at the disorders he saw all around him, and, though perhaps incapable of bringing about peace, still laboured hard to promote it. He strove to keep peace within the cities of his dominions, and to make them keep it with one another. For this latter end, he published a decree forbidding the towns to combine together without the express permission of the Holy See. Such leagues, he pointed out, were most wisely forbidden in the Empire, as they led to great dangers both to men's bodies and souls. Any cities which formed such leagues would each of them be liable to a fine of three thousand marks of silver as well as to other spiritual and temporal penalties as the occasion might demand. The decree, at the same time, expressly took from "the Rectors of Provinces, districts or towns" power to modify these penalties in any way.¹

Troubles in
Ascoli.

The Pope's own native city of Ascoli gave him no little trouble. Word was brought to him that serious disturbances had broken out in the city, and that what the Pope called "detestable excesses" had occurred during them. Nicholas accordingly ordered Frederick, bishop-elect of Ivrea, Rector of the March of Ancona, and the archpriest of Osimo, to proceed thither at once and to see that those guilty of outrages appeared before him within twelve days.² Frederick carried out his commission satisfactorily, and received an order from the

¹ See the document in Theiner, *Cod. dip.*, i, p. 313, n. 483, Nov. 18, 1290. "Moderandi . . . penam . . . provinciarum, terrarum vel locorum Rectoribus . . . adimimus facultatem." Cf. *Chron. Firm.*, l.c., p. 493.

² *Reg.*, nn. 6963-5, March 21-4, 1288.

Pope not to depart from Ascoli till the arrival of the new Rector.¹ Frederick accordingly continued his work of reforming the city,² but with the consent of the Pope left before the arrival of the new Rector as there were other disorders in the March (Ancona) to be remedied.³ In May, Nicholas appointed Stephen Colonna Rector of Ascoli,⁴ and about the same time sent thither John, bishop of Iesi, to help to complete the pacification of the city.⁵ When, at length, the citizens of Ascoli had returned to the ways of law and order, and were paying their debts and the fines inflicted on them,⁶ Nicholas proceeded to make gifts to their churches,⁷ to grant privileges to their city,⁸ and finally to remit part of the large fine which was due to the apostolic treasury.⁹

Not to weary the reader with endless local details of political disturbances in Tuscany, the Duchy of Spoleto, etc., we will simply say briefly that with regard to the first named locality, Nicholas had hardly been elected when the wars between the Guelfs and Ghibellines "became hot (*riscaldandosi*) again by reason of the war begun by the Florentines and Sienese against the Aretines, and by the Florentines and Lucchese against the Pisans".¹⁰ Consequently we read of efforts made by Nicholas to reconcile the Guelfs and Ghibellines in various places, e.g., in Chiusi,¹¹ and to pacify the whole province.

Troubles in
the Duchy of
Spoleto, etc.

¹ *Ib.*, n. 6995, Apr. 17, 1288.

² *Cf.* Potthast, 22677, Apr. 22, 1288.

³ *Ib.*, n. 23698, Apr. 29, 1288.

⁴ *Reg.*, n. 7030, May 17, 1288. The son: "Johannis Stephani de Culpumna."

⁵ *Ib.*, nn. 7036-7, May 19.

⁶ *Ib.*, 7098, July 26. *Cf.* 7082-3.

⁷ *Ib.*, n. 7101. The famous cope of Ascoli, about which see *infra*.

⁸ *Ib.*, n. 7122.

⁹ Theiner, *Cod. dip.*, i, n. 466, Apr. 29, 1289.

¹⁰ Villani, *Chron.*, vii, 127 (al. 128).

¹¹ *Reg.*, nn. 4218-20, Feb. 18, 1291.

He had heard that the disorders in the Tuscan province of which notice had been brought to him were being fomented by the redoubtable Guido da Montefeltro, who with extensive powers had been made their captain by the Pisans.¹ The Pope accordingly commanded the communes of Florence, Siena, Arezzo, etc., to send him plenipotentiaries to arrange with him the best means of maintaining order throughout the province.² Meanwhile, because to go to Pisa Guido had left Piedmont to which district he "was confined by his terms of surrender to the Church", he, his sons, and the Pisans, were excommunicated by Nicholas "as rebels and enemies against Holy Church".³ But despite all his efforts there was very little peace in Tuscany during the pontificate of Nicholas. Throughout the whole of it, the Florentines and their allies were at war with the Ghibelline cities of Pisa and Arezzo. In the main, Florence and the Guelfs were successful, especially at the battle of Certomondo in the Casentino (1289). There the Florentines completely defeated the people of Arezzo, and there, says Villani with great local feeling, "were brought low the arrogance and pride not only of the Aretines, but of the whole Ghibelline party and of the Empire."⁴

Serious, too, was the situation in connection with Perugia which was displaying a most aggressive spirit. Even under Martin IV. it had been endeavouring to reduce Foligno to a state of vassalage. Nicholas strictly forbade the haughty hill-town to continue its attempts,⁵ and called upon the communes of Todi, Orvieto, etc., not to afford any manner of help to Perugia, but to get

¹ *Reg.*, nn. 2174-5, Villani, *l.c.*

² *Ib.*, nn. 6987-92, Apr. 13, 1288. *Cf. ib.*, nn. 7039-44, May, 1288.

³ *Reg.*, nn. 2172-5, Apr. 7, 1289; Villani, *l.c.*

⁴ *Chron.*, vii, 130 (al. 131).

⁵ *Reg.*, nn. 7017-18, Apr., 1288.

ready to assist the Rector of Spoleto against it.¹ To put more pressure on the recalcitrant Perugians, Nicholas next sent to them cardinals Matteo Rosso and Benedict Gaetani.² Even they failed to check the ambition of the Perugians, who continued their attacks on Foligno,³ and furthermore assailed Rieti.⁴ At length, however, they thought fit to submit to the Pope (1290)⁵; though it would appear that their submission was largely a matter of words, as in the following year Nicholas had again to complain of their usurpation of rights belonging to the Holy See.⁶

Of course if there were disturbances anywhere in the States of the Church, there would sure to be disturbances in the Romagna, and at this time the chief brawlers were the Malatestas of Rimini, and the Polentani of Ravenna. Soon after his accession, Nicholas replaced the existing Rector or Count of the province, Petrus Stephani, by Armann dei Monaldeschi.⁷ Since Guido of Montefeltro had had to go into exile, the province had become tranquil, so that Armann on his arrival was able to hold in peace "a great parliament" at Forli (May 16, 1288).⁸ But the peace was of very short duration. In the very month of his arrival, Malatesta of Verucucchio, who was apparently aiming at making himself⁹ tyrant of the city,

A new
Rector for
the
Romagna,
1288.

¹ *Ib.*, nn. 7019-28, Apr.-May, 1288.

² *Ib.*, nn. 584-93, May 28, 1288.

³ *Ib.*, nn. 645-7, Jan. 18, 1289; *cf.* nn. 2168-9.

⁴ *Ib.*, nn. 7197-8, Dec. 15, 1288. ⁵ *Ib.*, n. 3680, Nov. 27, 1290.

⁶ *Ib.*, nn. 7329-30, June 5, 1291. *Cf.* Heywood, *A Hist. of Perugia*, p. 153. Hence the *Annals of Perugia*, ap. *Archiv. Stor. It.*, xvi (1850), p. 58, assign the general peace to 1292.

⁷ Otherwise called Hermannus de Monaldensibus. *Reg.*, 6366, Apr. 4, 1288; *cf.* 6979-80.

⁸ Pietro Cantinelli, *Chron.*, ad an. 1288, p. 57, ap. *R. I. SS.*, xxviii, new ed.

⁹ He is called "rebellis et inimicus capitalis communis Arimini" by the Syndic of Rimini. *Cf.* a document cited by Torraca the editor of *P. Cant.*, *ib.*, p. 58.

was expelled from Rimini. He appealed to the Rector who summoned the representatives of the Commune to appear before him. As they declined to go on the ground that Malatesta with an army was near the city, the Rector (or Count) raised a force to compel them. However, he did nothing, and the people of Rimini succeeded in capturing some of the sons of Malatesta.¹ After further evidence of incompetence, Armann was recalled by the Pope, and pending the arrival of the new Rector, there appeared on the scene an apostolic legate, Pietro Saraceno, bishop of Vicenza (Aug., 1289).² He at once took possession in the name of the Church of the castles belonging both to the Commune and to Malatesta. The new Rector Stephen Colonna was, therefore, able straightway to enter Rimini, and to hold a parliament at Forlì where, by the ambassadors of Bologna and of all the cities of the province, he was granted a free hand (Dec.).³

The Rector
is
treacherously
seized,
1290.

Consequently he was soon able to effect a reconciliation between the Commune of Rimini and Malatesta, who with his party returned to the city (1290). However, before leaving Rimini himself, the Rector, for safety's sake, commanded Malatesta and his sons to retire to one of his residences in the country.⁴ Unfortunately before the year was out, Stephen Colonna, his son and his son-in-law, were treacherously seized by the sons of Guido de Polenta at Ravenna, whither he had gone to take over its strongholds.⁵ Instantly disturbances broke out all over the province. Malatesta took advantage of the

¹ P. C., *ib.*

² *Ib.*, p. 59.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 59-60. By the Chronicle of Bologna, S. C. is called "S. de Gananzano (Genezzano) de domo de Columna Romanus". *Chron. Bonon.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, xviii, p. 230, new ed.

⁴ P. C., p. 60. Stephen C. was in this seemingly acting by the advice of the two Colonna cardinals, Peter and James. See the document quoted as a note to this passage in P. Cant.

⁵ P. C., pp. 61-2. *Cf. Chron. Bonon.*, *l.c.*, *cf.* pp. 232-3.

situation to return and make himself master of Rimini, and allying himself with the Polentani and others, drove the papal officials out of Forlì.¹

Nicholas at once ordered Agapito Colonna, the Vicar of John Colonna, the Rector of the March of Ancona, to collect troops, and to march into the Romagna in order to pacify it, and to effect the release of Stephen.² He next sent (Dec. 22, 1290) a new Rector to the Province in the person of Hildebrandinus, bishop of Arezzo, naming him Rector in "spirituals" as well as in "temporals".³ The bishop was a man of energy and courage. He convoked envoys and "wise men" from the different cities of the province, as well as from Bologna and Florence, effected the release of Stephen, and caused compensation to be paid to him.⁴

Despite occasional appeals to the Pope, and despite an illegal league of Forlì, Faenza, and Ravenna against him, Hildebrandinus⁵ held his own not merely during the pontificate of Nicholas, but all during the long vacancy of the Holy See until the new Pope Celestine V. sent Rob. de Gernay to replace him (Sept. 9, 1294).⁶

Some domestic troubles of the Pope we can pass over here, as they were mentioned in the biography of Nicholas III, but we may conclude this chapter by recording what we may call an item of domestic

The Rector
is released,
1291.

Grants to
the
Cardinals.

¹ P. C., p. 63. Nicholas himself (*Reg.*, nn. 7317-18, March 7, 1291) says that on the seizure of S. C. "status ipsius provincie fluctuaret".

² *Reg.*, n. 7294, Nov. 17, 1290. Cf. many similar instructions to other authorities in the neighbourhood. *Ib.*, nn. 7295-7306.

³ *Reg.*, 7324, May 27, 1291. Cf. *ib.*, 7317-18, March 7, 1291. H. was appointed Dec. 22, 1290, *ib.*, n. 7582. See P. C., *l.c.*, pp. 63 and 65.

⁴ P. Cant., p. 63 f., and n. 1, p. 64. At a general parliament he held in Forlì, it was decided that he was to receive a salary of 26,000 gold florins per annum.

⁵ Sometimes called Ildebrandinus, Aldrebandinus, etc.

⁶ Cf. P. C., pp. 64-76. On p. 75 we see "ego Petrus Cantinelli" taking part in the events he narrates. Cf. Pasolini, *I tiranni di Romagna*, p. 74 ff.; Rubens, *Hist. Ravennatum*, p. 477 ff.

finance. On July 18, 1289, Nicholas published a bull which had a considerable effect in enhancing the power of the College of Cardinals. He set forth that they were the chief supporters of the Papacy, strong and towering columns of the Church. Their College was nobler than any other in the world¹; and so, for their support, he decreed that the entire revenues of the Church should be divided into two parts—one to belong to the Pope, and the other to be divided equally among the cardinals. He hoped that one result of this would be that the cardinals, being personally interested in these revenues, would prevent their alienation, and would see to the better administration of the various cities and provinces of the Church. For this latter purpose he decided in fine that the cardinals should have a voice in the appointment of the Rectors of the towns and provinces, and in their general financial management.

Patron of
Art.

In the midst of his labours to bring about civic order in the States of the Church, and to improve the material conditions under which his subjects lived, Nicholas did not forget the influence of art in this latter direction. In his patronage of art in all its branches, he stands midway, as in his numerical position, between "his father" and model, Nicholas III., and his great successor, Nicholas V. Less famous indeed in this respect than his successor, Tommaso Parentucelli, he was more distinguished than his predecessor Giovanni Gaetani Orsini. By Italy's best known living exponent of the History of Art, he is described as the "Mæcenas of his age".² He gathered round him the greatest painters, sculptors, mosaïcists—art workers in every department

¹ This document is printed in full ap. *Bullar. Rom.*, iv, p. 88 f., and Theiner, *Cod. D.*, i, p. 308, n. 468. "Horum cœtus in orbe magnificus omnes et singulos quibuslibet titulis decoratos, excellit."

² A. Venturi, *L'Arte d'Italia*, vol. v, p. 1050, "Mecenatè del Dugento." Cf. Sedgwick, *Italy in the Thirteenth Century*, vol. ii, p. 257.

whom he could find. Under him Rome became the artistic centre of Christendom.

He had the services of such painters as Pietro Cavallini, the greatest master of the thirteenth century, and the teacher of Giotto, the Franciscan, Jacopo della Turrita,¹ Gaddo Gaddi, Filippo Rusutti, and others known only by the works they have left behind. Sculptors like Cintio de Salvati, and, above all, Arnolfo da Cambio also worked for him; and for his "ribbon pattern" mosaics he could command Giovanni and other members of the Cosmati family.

It was in 1291 that Pietro Cavallini finished the mosaics of the apse of Sta. Maria in Trastevere.² They illustrate six episodes in the life of our Lady: her birth, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, and her death.³ Speaking of these productions of a Roman master, the Florentine art critic, Lorenzo Ghiberti, who saw them only about a hundred years after their completion, declares that he had never seen better mosaics.⁴ Ghiberti, in fact, would seem not to be able to extol Pietro and his works enough. He calls him "the most accomplished of all the masters". If he ventures a little criticism on his style, he adds immediately: "he was a most noble master." Also in the Trastevere, we are assured by Vasari that "he painted almost the whole of the Church of S. Cecilia

Pietro
Cavallini.

¹ Also called Torriti or da Turrita.

² On the date see G. Navone, "Di un mosaico di Pietro Cavallini in Sta. Maria Transtiberina," ap. *Archivio di Rom. di Storia Patria*, vol. i, 1877, p. 224 f.

³ They are described with pictures by Venturi, *l.c.*, p. 141 ff. Cf. Barbet de Jouy, *Les mosaïques chrét.*, p. 124 ff.

⁴ See *Vita di L. G. con i commentarj di L. G.*, p. 39, ed. C. Frey, Berlin, 1886. "Ardirei a dire in muro non avere veduto di quella materia lavorare mai meglio." Cf. Frothingham, *The Monuments of Christian Rome*, p. 332 f.

in fresco".¹ Although no trace of Pietro's work is to be seen in the church to-day, there is no reason to call his statement in question, as it had been previously made by Ghiberti, and as frescoes of his have been found comparatively recently in the adjoining convent of enclosed nuns. They were discovered more or less well preserved, on the removal of some stalls, and cover three sides of the nuns' choir. On the main wall the artist has depicted the Last Judgment, and no one who has ever seen the dignified face of his Christ, and the glory of the colouring of his angels, will ever forget his work.²

Again, according to Vasari, he adorned the facade and nave of St. Paul's outside the walls with mosaics, and he also decorated the chapter-house with frescoes. Again, too, are Vasari's assertions in this matter partly borne out by the testimony of Ghiberti. Unfortunately again, too, hardly any trace of all this work is left. It was destroyed by the fire of 1823. However, in the arch of the tribune of the present church, there has been inserted his kneeling figure of Pope John XXII. which once formed part of his frontal mosaic and was preserved from the fire.³ Pietro is further credited by Ghiberti and Vasari with having done work at St. Peter's, S. Maria in Araceli, S. Francesco-presso-Ripa, and San Crisogono. If that is so, time or the wanton hand of man has destroyed all trace of it, though, with regard to the last-named church, the mosaic in the style of the Cosmati, of the Madonna, enthroned with her Child between

¹ See his *life* of P. C., *init.*

² The frescoes are described in detail by F. Hermanin, "Un affresco di Pietro Cavallini a S. Cecilia" ap. *Archiv. Rom. di Storia Pat.*, vol. xxiii (1900), p. 397 ff. See also Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Hist. of Painting in Italy*, i, p. 92, n.

³ By mistake, C. and C., *l.c.*, p. 94, call the figure that of Benedict XI. The design of the old façade is preserved in the Vatican Library, *Cod. Barb. Lat.*, n. 4406. Cf. Venturi, *l.c.*, pp. 129 f., 141. On the identity of the papal figure see Villani, *S. Paolo*, p. 37.

SS. Chrysogonus and James, used at one time to be thought a survival of Pietro's work.

More immediately in connection with Nicholas IV. are the productions of Jacopo Torriti and Rusutti. Of these two, only Torriti is incidentally mentioned by Vasari,¹ and what he says of him shows that he did not think much of him as an artist. However, both his words and the more important testimony of an inscription prove that Torriti worked at the glorious mosaic of the apse of St. Mary Major's. Nicholas IV., in conjunction with Cardinal James Colonna,² was not merely the decorator of that splendid basilica, he was its saviour. If it alone of the great fourth century basilicas still stands showing its original lines, it is due to his little transepts.³ When he had restored the fabric, Nicholas, with the aid of Torriti for the interior and of Rusutti for the exterior, proceeded to decorate it with mosaics. The restoration of the fine fifth century mosaic of the apse was the work of the former, and was completed in 1295.⁴ Recalling, by the sweeping curves of its arabesque designs through

¹ In his *life* of Andrea Tafi.

² See the inscription from the Sacristy of the basilica, ap. Galletti, *Inscrip. Rom.*, i, p. cxcviii. After praising both cardinals Peter and J. C., it continues:—

“ Sed Jacobus opere sumptuque
Collato cum Nicolao Pontifice
Ex instauratione basilicæ
Decessit illustrior.”

See also P. de Angelis, *Basilicæ S. M. Maj. descript.*, p. 90.

³ See the inscription in mosaic, “almost eaten away” in the days of de Angelis (1621), which was once on the right of the apse:—

“ Quartus Papa fuit Nicolaus
Virginis Ædem
Hanc lapsam refecit, fitque
Vetusta nova.”

L.c., p. 89.

⁴ On the left of the apse is seen the artist's name. According to de Angelis, *l.c.*, p. 90, it read: “ Jacobus Torriti pictor hoc opus momaicen fecit ”; and in a corner on the right: “ anno domini MCCXCV.”

a field of gold, the lovely mosaics of Ravenna, the upper part of the picture is perhaps more or less the work of the original artists.¹ The lower portion is the work of brother Torriti; and a modern art critic has declared that "no Italian artist, not even Cimabue or Duccio, has imitated with greater skill the solemnity of style, the emphasis of feature, and the magnificent colouring of the Byzantine productions".² The centre of the apse is filled with a large circle within which sit enthroned our Lord and His Mother. Mary with hands upraised is being crowned by her divine Son; while angels with extended wings cluster round each side of the lower half of the circle. On its left are seen the small kneeling figure of Pope Nicholas IV., tall upright figures of SS. Peter and Paul, and last in smaller size that of St. Francis, showing the stigmata. The figure of the Pope is, on the other side, balanced by that of Cardinal James Colonna, and the other Saints by St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist, and St. Anthony of Padua.

Below the "shell" of the apse, and between the windows which give light to it, Nicholas placed a series of seven mosaics. They depict scenes in connection with the story of our Lady. Enumerating them from the left, we see the Purification of St. Anne, our Lady's mother; the Annunciation, and the Nativity. The centre mosaic, the largest of the series, shows the death of our Lady. Then follow the Adoration of the Magi, the Purification, and the aged Simeon. Whatever adverse criticism certain details may call for, there can be no

¹ This is, however, called in question by Mgr. Wilpert. Cf. *La Peinture Romaine*, by R. van Marle, p. 14. Personally, I am very sceptical as to the judgments of art critics about the age of a painting when they have no extraneous data to help them. Cf. *ib.*, p. 216, for Van Marle's judgment as to the extent of Torriti's work on the apses of St. Mary Major and St. John Lateran.

² E. Bertaux, *Rome*, ii, p. 83.

doubt that the decoration of the apse of St. Mary Major's is at once sumptuous and beautiful.¹

The mosaics of the loggia of the façade, now very largely restored, were the work of Filippo Rusutti, as the inscription on them shows.² Again, the centre of the work is taken up with a large circle showing a starry background, and again have we an elaborate throne with our Lord in highly decorated robes seated thereon. His right hand is raised in benediction, and in His left He holds an open book in which are the words, "Ego sum lux mundi."

Torriti has also worked at the mosaic of the apse of St. John
Lateran. This mosaic, which in design recalls that of St. Stefano Rotondo, is said by some not to have been much modified by the Franciscan mosaicist. As it now stands, it is divided into three bands. In the centre of the upper one is a full-bearded bust of our Lord with the head surrounded by a large white nimbus. Immediately above the head of our Lord is the figure of a Seraph, and all around the bust are angels floating through the dark blue sky amid crimson tinted clouds, after the manner of the mosaic in the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian. The centre of the second band is occupied, on a gold background, by a large jewelled cross standing on a mound from which flow the four rivers of Paradise at which two stags are drinking. On

¹ In addition to the authors already cited in connection with the basilica, see G. Clausse, *Basiliques et mosaïques*, ii, p. 443 ff.; A. Venturi, *Mosaici Cristiani in Roma*, p. 43 ff., Rome, 1925. Illustrations will be found in most of the works cited. See also Gregorovius, *Rome*, v, pt. ii, pp. 654-5.

² "Philipp Rusutti fecit hoc o(p)us." To him or to Gaddo Gaddi are assigned the four mosaics below that of our Lord dealing with the story of the foundation of the basilica under Pope Liberius. Cf. Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte*, v, p. 181 ff., with plates, nn. 150-1; and Van Marle, p. 221. See also Frothingham, *l.c.*, pp. 330-1, for certain frescoes in a fragmentary state in St. Mary Major's which that author assigns to an unknown artist in the days of Nicholas IV.

the left of the Cross are three large upright figures of our Lady, St. Peter, and St. Paul. Kneeling by the Virgin's side is Pope Nicholas on whom rests one of her hands,¹ and beneath whose figure runs the inscription: "Nicholas IV. Pope, the servant of the Holy Mother of God. Nicolaus PP. IIII Sce. Di. Genitri. Servi." Behind him stands St. Francis, like Nicholas in smaller proportions than the figures of the apostles. On the right side of the cross are also three large upright figures representing St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist, and St. Andrew, while the smaller figure of St. Anthony is placed between the first two Saints. The third and narrowest band shows a river with its name, Jordanus, into which pour the four streams from the base of the cross, and on which swim swans and small boats float, carrying little naked children. In the left bottom corner we have the proof that the mosaic was the work of Torriti in the words of an inscription: "Jacopus Toriti. Pict. hoc. op. fecit." Moreover, between the windows which give light to the apse are the figures of the other apostles, and between the two on the extreme left is the little kneeling figure of the Franciscan artist himself with a square and compass in his hand. Between the two apostles on the extreme right is the kneeling figure of Brother James of Camerino, who, as the inscription by his side declares, was "the associate of the master of the work", and who, as with his hammer he is seen breaking up the enamel into suitable pieces, commends himself to his patron St. John.

¹ E. Müntz believes that all Torriti did was to insert the three smaller figures, and to alter the figure of our Lady. This he did by giving her a second right hand to rest it on the kneeling Pope, and by leaving the original right arm raised. He then tried to turn the latter into a left arm by inverting the hand, obliterating the original left hand. Such, at any rate, is A. L. Frothingham's presentation of Müntz's article in *Révue Arch.*, Nov., 1878.

Above this striking scene once ran an inscription which proclaims that Nicholas IV., a son of Blessed Francis, renewed the Church in 1291, and adorned it with mosaics, restoring to its place the face of our Lord as it originally manifested itself when the church was consecrated.¹

But Nicholas was concerned not only with the Churches. The Cathedral of Orvieto. He had the honour of laying the foundation stone of one of the most lovely churches even of Italy. The Annals of Orvieto tell us that Nicholas came to that city when Adinulf was its podestà and captain ; that on October 13, 1290, the workmen began to dig the foundations of the Duomo, Sta. Maria Nuova, and that " they were terribly deep ". On November 13, the Pope, surrounded by a number of cardinals and prelates, in presence of all the people, " descended to the foundations," and laid the foundation stone, and Latinus, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, proclaimed the indulgence " granted by the Pope and the prelates who were present ".²

Among the sculptors employed by Nicholas was C. de Salvati, sculptor. a certain Cintio de Salvati. In a register of the Archivio of St. Alexius, Giordani has found a notice to the effect that, in 1293, " there died, most piously, Magister Cintio de Salvati, a Marmorarius, sculptor of a statue of Pope

¹ On all this, see especially Clause, *l.c.*, p. 341 ff. For the above and for another inscription in mosaic once on the Gospel side, see Rasponi, *De Basilica Lat.*, p. 29, Rome, 1656. This second inscription sets forth the work done for the basilica both by Innocent III. and Nicholas IV. in 1291. See them also in N. Alemanni, *De Lateran. Parietinis*, p. 137 f., who from Rasponi, *l.c.*, p. 91, tells us that, before the restoration of Nicholas, there was represented above the cross the City of the Church, and in its midst a palm-tree on which was seen that emblem of Christ the Phoenix. Now the tree and the bird are beneath the cross.

² *Annales Urbevet.*, p. 162. Cf. pp. 134, 162, ap. R. I. SS., t. xv, pt. v, new ed. Cf. L. Fumi, *Cod. diplom. Orviet.*, doc. 548, p. 339, ap. Penzi, *Viterbo*, ii, p. 448, n., and the same *Il duomo di Orvieto*, Rome, 1891, for permission for materials to be taken from Rome for the great work.

Nicholas IV." which once was in St. Mary Major's, but which is no longer to be found.¹

Embroidery.

We are reminded by an art historian that Nicholas was also a princely donor of fine embroidery work to many churches. Among other presents to the Church at Assisi,² he sent it an altar frontal with the history of St. Francis embroidered thereon in gold, silver, and pearls, and also a most beautiful cope of gold tissue with the figures of the Apostles embroidered thereon. To St. Peter's he gave an altar-cover (dossale) worked in gold and pearls with the figures of our Lady, St. John, Francis, Gregory, Nicholas, etc.³

The famous
Ascoli cope.

On July 28, 1288, Nicholas wrote from Rieti to the cathedral church of Ascoli Piceno to attest his devotion to it from his youth upwards, and his desire to favour it. He went on to say that he had recently sent to it by his beloved son the Franciscan brother Lambert, a cope (pluviale) of samnite with figures embroidered upon it,⁴ and adorned with gold fringe and emeralds. Then, in order, as he said, that the Church might not in the future ever be defrauded of it, he absolutely forbade

¹ So says Filippini (Laura), *La scultura nel trecento in Roma*, p. 54, from whom the notice in the text is taken. Some maintain that the kneeling papal figure in the Chapel of the Crucifix at St. John Lateran is that of Nicholas IV. But, as the arms of Boniface IX. are seen by his side, I cannot see sufficient reason for denying that it is a statue of the latter Pope. See also Filippini, *l.c.*, pp. 152-9.

² The gifts of Nicholas to Assisi are discussed by Rubens, p. 55.

³ Venturi, *Arte*, v, p. 1050 ff. With regard to the *Dossale*, of which we find mention in *Il tesoro della basilica di S. Pietro*, p. 15, ed. Müntz and Frothingham, Rome, 1883 (really an extract from the *Archivio Rom. de Storia Pat.*, vol. vi), it is simply there stated "quod dossale dicitur pape Nicolay". The presence of the figure of St. Francis on it, is the reason for assigning it to Nicholas IV.

⁴ Among others with those of Popes Innocent IV., Alexander IV., Urban IV., and Clement IV. A description of the cope may be read in E. Bertaux, "Trésors d'Eglises," ap. *Mélanges d'archéol.*, 1897, p. 77 ff.

it to be alienated from it in any way.¹ As is well known, his wishes have not been respected, and it is now in the National Gallery of Rome.²

Though practically all the art work forwarded by Nicholas was in connection with churches, he repaired or completed the palace at St. Mary Major's, begun by Clement III.³

To execute all this beautiful work, Nicholas required funds. A few documents have been preserved which show us some ways in which he procured them. The banking firm "Clarentum"—setting an extraordinarily rare example of a delicate conscience in a corporate body—wrote to Nicholas acknowledging that they were in possession of funds which they had acquired by usury and other unlawful means. They therefore asked him what they should do with regard to the past, as they proposed to abstain from malpractices in the future, and had made satisfaction to all the creditors whom they could trace. After praising their good intentions and resolutions, the Pope absolved them from the necessity of troubling about future possible demands on them, provided they paid a thousand ounces of gold towards the repairs of St. Mary Major's.⁴ For the works going on in connection with the church of St. Francis at Assisi, he authorized the using of the offerings made in that church and in the Portiuncula.⁵

A little later we find him absolving Sir John de Wotton

The palace
at St. Mary
Major's.

Funds for all
this work.

¹ *Reg.*, n. 7101.

² It was stolen in 1902, came into the hands of Mr. Pierpont Morgan, and was restored by him in 1904.

³ "Ubi satis magna palacia compleri fecit." *Contin. reg. lib. de Temp.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxxi, p. 577, or *Mem. Pot. Reg.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, viii, 1171. Cf. G. Biasiotti, *La basilica Esquilina*, p. 29 f.

⁴ *Reg.*, 6926, March 21, 1292.

⁵ Ep. May 15, 1288, ap. Wadding, v, p. 512, n. 10. "Continua ecclesiæ b. Francisci de Assisio conservatio non modicum noscitur sumptuosa."

from a vow to make a pilgrimage to Rome, on the ground that he was old and weak, and, as sheriff of his county of Wiltshire, was very much occupied. In satisfaction of his vow, the knight had to send as much money to *St. Peter's* as he would have spent on his journey.¹

Nicholas was not, however, always successful in his endeavours to raise money for his churches. As we shall see when we come to speak of his relations with England,² his efforts to assign an English benefice in perpetuity to *St. Peter's* met with a final repulse.³

¹ *Cal. of P. Letters*, i, p. 492.

² *Cf. infra*.

³ *Cf. C. of P. L.*, i, pp. 518, 555 ; *Rymer*, ii, 494.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BRITISH ISLES.

Sources.—Among the documentary outcomes of the relation between Nicholas IV. and England was the *Taxatio ecclesiastica Angliæ et Walliæ auctoritate P. Nicolai IV.*, circa A.D. 1291, which was published, far from well, "by command of H.M. King George III." in 1802.¹ Its very inadequate preface begins with the misleading statement: "Pope Innocent XXII. (for IV.), to whose predecessors in the See of Rome the firstfruits and tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices had for a long time been paid, gave the same, A.D. 1253, to King Henry III. for three years, which occasioned a taxation in the following year, sometimes called the Norwich taxation, and sometimes Pope Innocent's Valor."² The preface then goes on to state, more or less accurately, that, in 1288,³ Nicholas IV. granted the tenths to King Edward I. for six years towards the expense of an expedition to the Holy Land, and that they might be collected to their true value, a taxation by the King's precept was begun in that year (1288). . . . The *taxatio* of P. Nicholas IV. is a most important record, because all the taxes, as well to our Kings as to the Popes, were regulated by it, until the Survey made in the twenty-sixth year of Henry VIII. It is the result of this *taxation* or valuation of Nicholas that was published in 1802. It shows us, diocese by diocese, the sums yielded by the "spiritualities" (tithes, offerings) and "temporalities" (lands) of the various churches, abbeys, etc., of the country. But though we gather from it that, on the whole, it furnished a higher basis for taxation than preceding valuations, it does not show how

¹ Cf. Miss R. Graham, "Taxation of Nicholas IV." ap. *Eng. Hist. Review*, 1908, p. 434 ff., a paper we have here freely used.

² We must point out that the "First Fruits" or Annates were not exacted till the reign of John XXII., and that only occasional tenths had been granted to the Popes.

³ It was not till Jan. 10, 1290, that Nicholas gave his consent for a fresh valuation to be made. Rymer, ii, 459, and see *infra*.

that basis was arrived at, and consequently does not enable us to ascertain exactly the real revenues of the churches.

In connection with this *Taxatio*, we would call attention, besides the paper of Miss Graham just cited in a note, to that of Mr. W. E. Lunt, "Collectors' accounts of the clerical tenth of N. IV.," ap. *Eng. Hist. Review*, Jan., 1916, p. 102 ff.

King
Edward and
the tithes for
the Crusade.

We have already seen how the perilous condition of the Holy Land on the one hand, and on the other a possible alliance with the Mongols to succour it, had rekindled King Edward's desire to lead a Crusade in its defence.¹ After he had taken the cross, and been named captain-general of the hosts of Christendom (1287),² he had entered into renewed communication with Pope Honorius IV. on the subject of the Holy Land, and of the tithes he desired to enable him properly to equip his forces. On the death of Honorius, he had continued the negotiations with his successor, Nicholas IV. The latter, in letters now lost, had promptly declared his wishes to Edward, who, on February 3, 1289, explained his. They were that, without fail, the great Crusade (*passagium generale*) should start on the Feast of St. John the Baptist in 1293, that the six years' tithes and other crusade taxes (*obventiones*) already collected in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, should be handed over to him before that date, and that of the tithes, etc., to be collected during the next six years, those received during the first three years should be given to him before his departure for the Holy Land, and the rest as they fell due. The Crusade was to be preached everywhere, and those who had taken the cross were to be compelled to fight or pay. Finally, he was to receive, as far as possible, the tithes from those countries whose rulers

¹ Cf. *supra*, pp. 55 ff., etc.

² *Flores Hist.*, iii, 65; Rishanger, p. 130. The French wanted the position for their King or, at any rate, for one "ex genere Gallorum". Cf. John of Thilrode, *Chron.*, p. 581 ff., ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxv.

should not take part in the Crusade.¹ In a separate letter he undertook to restore the money assigned to him, if, for any cause, he was not ready to sail on the appointed day.²

Some of these wishes of our King led to much correspondence between him and the Pope. In the first place Nicholas declared that, owing to the disastrous loss of Tripoli (Apr. 26, 1289), which had occurred after the dispatch of the King's letter, the Crusade could not be delayed beyond 1292. But, with regard to the assignment of the tithes, always understanding that they should be refunded if the Crusade were not undertaken, he even granted more favourable conditions than the King himself had asked for. Speaking generally, Nicholas' answer was in accordance with the King's petitions.³

The Pope cannot grant all the King's desires, 1289.

If Edward was anxious to lead a Crusade, he was, perhaps, still more anxious to get hold of the money which was to be raised for it, and to get as much of it as possible. His envoys, accordingly, pressed for the granting of a new valuation of ecclesiastical property in England.⁴ From the Pope's reply we see that they had put forward as a reason for their request that there was not a uniform basis of valuation in the different countries under Edward's sway. Accepting the assertion, Nicholas granted that the taxes should be paid "according to the true value" of the revenues. The collection of the taxes, however, was, he insisted, to be made by persons deputed by the Apostolic See, and, though in the King's interest,

A new valuation to be made, 1290.

¹ Ep. to Nicholas: "cum recommendatione humili, pedum oscula beatorum," ap. Rymer, ii, p. 413.

² *Ib.*

³ Ep. of Oct. 7, 1289, ap. *ib.*, p. 432 ff. Nicholas showed himself ready to help the King, because he knew that the undertaking was necessarily very costly, "pro eo quod negotium multis oneribus et sumptibus est onustum."

⁴ The *Annals of Worcester*, p. 509, says that the Pope consented to the new valuation "rege procurante".

was so to be made as to avoid scandal.¹ This letter was, a few months later, followed by a long one setting forth in detail what sort of revenues, profits, etc., were to be taxed, and what were not to be taxed, what institutions were not to be taxed at all, such as those of the military Religious Orders, and what deductions could lawfully be made from the revenues before their value could be settled for taxation.²

Further
requests
from the
King.

In presence of a number of bishops and nobles, of brother William de Hothun, who had conducted the negotiations for the King, and of Bartholomew, bishop of Grosseto, the papal nuncio, Edward "humbly and devoutly" accepted the Pope's conditions.³ Nevertheless, he did not cease to press Nicholas for more money. Specially did he ask for the money from those countries, whose rulers were not going to take part in the Crusade, and for a grant from the Pope himself. In reply to Edward's requests, Nicholas declared that he was most anxious to help him, who was indeed "Christ's champion and the protagonist of Christendom", but the King must know that from France the Church has not received anything, that Pope Gregory had granted the tithes of Castile to its King, and that very little (*modicum*) had come to the Church from Germany and the countries of the North. Moreover, as the tithes of England, Ireland,

¹ Ep. Jan. 10, 1290, ap. *ib.*, p. 459: "Diversæ, ut dicitur, sunt extimationes reddituum . . . Statuimus ut, juxta verum ipsarum valorem, tibi prædicta decima persolvatur." Cf. *ib.*, p. 460, for a similar letter regarding the other crusade taxes (*obventiones*), and *ib.*, p. 509, for a confirmatory letter (March 18, 1291) regarding "the true value", in which he again lays down that in collecting the tithes according to this value all occasion of grave inconvenience and consequent scandal must be carefully avoided. See a version of Bartholomew of Cotton, p. 433, *R. S.*, and other texts from chroniclers *infra*. The scope of the tax is well expressed by the *Chronicle of Lanercost*, ad an. 1291, *sub fin.*

² Ep. May 14, 1290, *R.*, p. 475.

³ Ep. Oct. 10, 1290, ap. *R.*, ii, p. 495.

Scotland, and Wales had already been granted to the King, he could easily conjecture for himself how much was left for the Church. Then, out of that residue, he had himself equipped men and ships for the defence of the Holy Land. Still he assured Edward that he would give him all the financial help he could. Further, when the King was ready to sail, he would comply with his request, and depute a cardinal-legate to watch over the interests of the Holy Land, and take him and his people under the special protection of the Holy See.¹

About a month after the dispatch of this answer, a sheaf of letters² left the Apostolic chancery, giving further grants to Edward, and now fixing 1293 as the date of the crusade against the Sultan of Egypt who "with all his might is striving wholly to blot out the Christian faith and name."³

Further concessions and action of the Pope, 1291.

On the same day as the issue of this encyclical, Nicholas appointed Oliver Sutton, bishop of Lincoln, and John of Pontissara, bishop of Winchester, as chief collectors of the tenth to be raised in England.⁴

The new valuation in England.

The fall of Acre (May 18, 1291) everywhere enkindled for the moment a lively interest in the Holy Land,⁵

¹ Ep. Feb. 12, 1291, ap. R., ii, p. 499. Nicholas added that many were grumbling at the special favours he had granted Edward. Cf. the following letter (p. 501), of the same date in which the Pope begs our King not to delay his preparations.

² Epp. of March 18-29, 1291, ap. *ib.*, pp. 509-23.

³ Encyclical of March 18, 1291, ap. *ib.*, p. 515.

⁴ Ep. ap. Bartholomew of Cotton, p. 183 ff. The tenth to be collected "juxta veram æstimationem (proventuum)". Cf. ep. of March 29, addressed to the same two bishops. *Ib.*, p. 189 ff.

⁵ The letters of the Pope to England on the matter (of which we spoke above) may also be read in full in the *Registrum Johannis de Pontissara*, ed. Deedes, ii, p. 474 ff.; and the boastful letter of the Sultan on it, ap. *ib.*, p. 481. The editor gives an English translation of it in his valuable introduction, p. lxxxiii, but he is mistaken in supposing it was addressed to Hako of Norway. It was addressed to Hayton II., K. of Armenia, and was included by Bartholomew of Cotton in his Chronicle, p. 215, R. S.

but Nicholas died within the year after that event, and Edward became involved in the affairs of Scotland. The Crusade of 1293 was never undertaken, though, at the preaching of archbishop Peckham, many of our nobles had taken the cross.¹

Meanwhile, the new valuation was begun in England, because, as the *Annals of Osney* put it,² "the lord Pope out of the abundance of his power had granted to the King of England a tenth for six years of all the possessions of ecclesiastical persons, as well religious as secular, . . . in aid of his future expedition to the Holy Land in order to attack the enemies of the Cross of Christ. The tenth was to be raised not on the old valuations, but according to the *true value* of the said possessions which the Pope had decided was to be reckoned anew by an intolerable valuation." These same *Annals* go on to say that to the greater vexation of the tax-payers new valuers were appointed who raised "incomparably" the previous iniquitous valuation. "But still they could not satisfy the insatiable avarice of the King's heart."³

Since the year 1252, the Popes had often granted our Kings tithes of ecclesiastical revenues for the succour of the Holy Land. For the raising of them a valuation had been made by Walter of Norwich in 1256, with the sanction of Alexander IV.⁴ In 1275, a second valuation had been made by the papal nuncio, Raymund de Nogeriiis, and we are assured by the Canon of Barnwell that the first valuation, if tolerable, pricked, that the

¹ Bart. of C., p. 177.

² P. 331. Cf. Bart. of Cotton, p. 433, "ad taxationem novam secundum verum valorem faciendum."

³ P. 333. Cf. *Ann. of Dunstable*, p. 367, and our annalists generally.

⁴ For the first clerical income tax levied by Innocent III. (1199), each clerk assessed his own income. Cf. W. E. Lunt, "Early assessments for papal taxation of English clerical incomes," ap. *Annual Report of the American Hist. Assoc.*, 1917, p. 265 ff.

second was heavy and wounded, but that the new one (1291) was most sharp and cut down to the bone.¹ Though the general opinion seems to have been that the valuation of 1291 was oppressive,² no one, we are told, opposed it in England, Scotland, Wales, or Ireland.³ The levying of the tithe began on June 24, 1291, but owing to the death of Nicholas, the subsequent long vacancy of the Holy See and other causes, its collection did not begin in earnest till 1296, and was not finished till 1302. From a certain want of exactness and definiteness in the *Taxatio* document, as it has come down to us, it does not seem possible to arrive at the knowledge of the exact sum raised; but it appears to have been between £206,000 and £220,000.⁴

When Nicholas, in mournful but inspiring accents, proclaimed the fall of Acre to the Christian world (Aug. 18, 1291),⁵ he did not content himself with granting tithes to King Edward, but inaugurated extensive measures to cope with the situation. He resolved to call together, as Gregory X. had done, a diet of Christendom. Meanwhile, he ordered local councils to be assembled all over Europe to consult on what was best to be done, and to forward to him without delay the result of their deliberations.⁶ Especially did he commend to the bishops the consideration of how best the great Military Orders could be

Councils to
be held in
England.

¹ *Lib. memor. eccles. de Bernewelle*, p. 191.

² "Fuit illa taxatio durissima," Bart. of Cotton, p. 199.

³ Pierre de Langtoft, *Chron.*, vol. ii, p. 189, R. S. There were, of course, complaints against arbitrary increase of the valuation in certain cases. Cf. John of Oxnead, p. 260.

⁴ Cf. among other authors who have attempted this calculation, Dixon, *Hist. of the Church of England*, i, p. 249.

⁵ Ap. Bart. of Cotton, p. 199.

⁶ *Ib.* Cf. Geoffrey de Courlon, *Chron.*, p. 564, ed. Julliot, *Letters from Northern Registers*, p. 96, R. S., where Romanus, archbishop of York, gives a letter from Nicholas ordering him to summon a provincial council.

united, as from their discords great harm had been done to the Christian cause.¹

In obedience to the Pope's orders, the metropolitans everywhere summoned their suffragans and clergy together. On Dec. 22, 1291, archbishop Peckham bade the bishops and priests of his Province assemble in the New Temple on Feb. 13, 1292.²

Provincial
synod of
Canterbury,
1292.

The council duly met, and it was decided that the faithful should be regularly exhorted to prayer, fasting, and good works for the benefit of the Holy Land, and that the leadership of the Christian forces should be put into imperial hands, "as the imperial majesty is the greatest among the powers of this world." It was, therefore, recommended that an emperor should be chosen at once, "to whom the sword for the recovery of the Holy Land could be safely entrusted." Every effort should also be made to bring about peace between princes.³ If an Emperor was not for any cause available, King Edward should lead the Crusade, and the tithes of Christendom be made over to him.⁴

Speaking generally the recommendations from the different countries were much the same. The French councils, whilst also urging the prompt election "of a King of Germany" and his promotion to the imperial dignity, recommended that the laity should be taxed equally with the clergy. They also, like our own, agreed that the Military Orders should be united, and also that inquiries should be made to see if they were maintaining as many knights in the field as their revenues could

¹ Ep. ap. B. of C. (Aug. 18, 1291), p. 203, *Ann. Blandin.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, v, p. 33 f.

² Epp. ap. B. of C., p. 204 f.

³ And should they be in rebellion against the Roman Church, to bring them back to its unity.

⁴ Bart. of C., pp. 206-10; *Ann. of Dunstable*, pp. 366-7, *R. S.*; J. of Oxnead, pp. 284-5.

support. The French clergy, also, though protesting that they were heavily burdened with taxation, professed their readiness to pay what the kindly prudence of the Roman Church should think fair.¹

The Council of Salzburg (April, 1292) advised that the best parts of the constitutions of the Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights should be selected, and a new one made for a united Military Order. The "Rex Romanorum" and the Princes should be summoned to succour the Holy Land. We are told, however, that Nicholas had died before the deputies from that Council reached Rome.² With the death of the Pope in whom all obviously trusted, died all hope of the Crusade of rescue.

Although Nicholas and Edward had the same views on many subjects besides the Crusades, and the release of King Charles from confinement, their ideas on other matters were sometimes in direct opposition. Edward believed that the Pope made too free use of his powers in granting benefices in England to foreigners or in spite of the rights of patrons, and Nicholas was convinced that Edward did not always respect the immemorial privileges of the Church in his realms. Though the *Register* of Nicholas proves that, at times, he granted provisions and reservations at Edward's own request to his kinsmen or dependents,³ it is a fact that far too many English

Provisions
and Reser-
vations.

¹ *Ib.*, pp. 210-15. "Gallicana ecclesia . . . non modicum sit gravata . . . ne tamen tam S. Rom. ecclesiæ desiderio pioque proposito videatur deesse . . . nos ad illud offerimus subsidium faciendum, quod vestræ sanctitatis prudentia et clementia . . . duxerit imponendum." Cf. Will. of Newbury, *contin.*, an. 1291, ap. *Chron. of Stephen, etc.*, R. S., vol. ii, p. 279.

² Eberhard of Ratisbon, *Annales*, an. 1291, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii, 594. Other councils advised the formation of a fleet, union with the Greek Church, etc. Cf. Hefele, *Conciles*, vi, pt. i, p. 327 f.

³ See the striking case of Edward's kinsman, Peter of Savoy. At the King's request Nicholas granted Peter "provision of a canonry of

benefices were granted by the Pope to foreigners who were often non-resident, and generally, even if resident, were ignorant of the language and customs of the country.¹ "The cathedrals and cathedral churches," it has been truly noted,² "suffered most from these provisions, as the benefices and prebends in them as a rule had no cure of souls attached." At this period the greatest sufferers in England were the dioceses of York³ and Lincoln. The Archbishop of York, John Romanus, had complained to various cardinals about the abuse,⁴ and even Nicholas himself had acknowledged the state of things in that diocese owing to provisions.⁵

Edward
complains to
the Pope,
1290.

The complaint of the Archbishop of York was backed up by the King and the nobles of the land. Edward told the Pope that he could not understand how it was conceivable that he who had always shown such favour to himself and his realm should sanction such appropriation of English benefices as had lately taken place.

Especially was the King (and the archbishop of York also)⁶ annoyed at the proposed permanent alienation of the prebends of Fenton and Nassington (in Lincoln)

Lincoln, with reservation of a prebend, notwithstanding that he is under age, and holds the treasurership of Llandaff, and canonries and prebends of York, Salisbury, and Hereford." *Cal. of Papal Reg.*, i, p. 557. *Cf. ib.*, p. 529, etc.

¹ *Ann. of Dunstable*, p. 353.

² See the introduction to the *Register* of Arch. John Romanus, vol. ii, p. xv.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ *Ib.*, n. 1082, vol. i, p. 380, of Sept. 16, 1289.

⁵ Ep. of Apr. 1, 1289, ap. *Cal. of P. L.*, i, 406.

⁶ See the archbishop's letter of Sept. 20, 1288, from Jaca in Aragon to Cardinal Matteo Rubeo Orsini, who had proposed the assignment of his prebend of Fenton in Yorkshire to the Hospital of S. Spirito in Sassia of which he was protector. "Spoliatur hoc modo," he indignantly wrote, "Eboracensis ecclesia et Romanum hospitale vestitur . . . Tollitur Anglicis hospitalitas, et transvehitur ad Romanos." *Cf. his Register*, ii, p. xvii ff.

for the benefit of St. Peter's and of the Hospital of St. Spirito in Sassia which already had the English benefice of Writel. Edward pointed out that these numerous appropriations, especially the permanent ones, of English benefices to foreigners and foreign institutions, were causing damage to the dignity of Divine worship in the country, were depriving the poor of the country of their alms, were lessening charitable bequests as the donors saw that their wishes were not respected, etc. The King declared that he could not see that it was for the honour of God that "one altar should be unduly stripped for the benefit of another". He therefore earnestly besought the Pope to remedy these evils, as he could not suffer the alienation of a heritage he had sworn to defend.¹

Edward did not get much satisfaction from the reply (Sept. 17, 1290) of the Pope's "superior (præcellens) authority": Nicholas expressed his astonishment "at the curious and serious letter" he had received from the King, and confined his comments to the prebends of Fenton and Nassington. In his action which had been inspired by pure motives, he declared that he had not had any intention of diminishing the King's rights, but he wished to assign one of the said prebends to the basilica of St. Peter's, on whom rests the whole fabric of the Church, and the other to the Hospital of St. Spirito whither flock such a multitude of sick and poor. Accordingly, the Pope professed to have no doubt that out of reverence for God and His Apostle, the King, "at once Catholic and devout," would forego any rights he may have in connection with the two prebends, and offer them to him.²

¹ Ep. c. July, 1290, ap. Rymer, ii, p. 493, and *ib.*, the protest of the English nobles.

² *Ib.*, p. 494. Nicholas took great interest in this hospital. He exempted their houses in England from the Saladin tenth, as their "goods are applied to the uses of the sick and poor." Cf. *Cal. of P. L.*, i, pp. 534, 536.

With regard, however, to the permanent alienation of these two prebends, Edward stood firm, and threatened divers severe penalties to anyone who should dare to attempt to annex them to institutions in Rome.¹ But with regard to the general question of Provisions by which he benefited himself, he took no particular action, though these were causing endless disputes, and giving a great deal of trouble to the bishops of the country.² Even when, in the following century, various Statutes of Provisors (1351, 1362, 1390) were passed against the granting of Provisions by the Pope, because "if they should be suffered, there should scarcely be any benefice within a short time within the said realm (of England), but that it should be in the hands of aliens and denizens by virtue of such provisions"³—even then, as the King was able to reward his servants by them, the practice went on as before, and the rights of the patrons were ignored.⁴

Pope's
complaints
against
Edward,
1289-92.

If King Edward had to complain that the Pope was abusing his prerogatives, Nicholas in turn complained to the King's envoy, and by letters and nuncios to the King himself, "that things are done by royal authority

¹ Cf. *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1288-96, pp. 307, 464.

² Cf. *Cal. of P. L.*, i, p. 492, for the case of Stephen *Surdus*, nephew of card. Ric. Annibaldi; of Boniface, nephew of card. Oct. Ubaldini, p. 493; Raynold of Sarmineto, nephew of the late Pope Alexander IV., p. 493; Andrew of Languisel, brother of the card.-bp. of Porto, p. 494; of Francis Napoleon, papal sub-deacon, p. 495; and other cases *ap. ib.*, pp. 501, 508, 509, etc.

³ "A statute of Provisors of benefices, made an. 25, Edw. III., Stat. 6, and A.D. 1350 (legal)" *ap. The Statutes at large*, i, p. 268, ed. Ruffhead, London, 1763.

⁴ "The latter volumes of the *Calendar of Papal Letters* . . . show how thoroughly the Pope's claims to reserve and provide to vacant benefices were recognized by the Church in England." *Introduc. to Arch. John le Romeyn's Reg.*, ii, p. xvi. The Statutes did not check the abuse of Provisions. Cf. *supra*, vol. xiii, p. 161 ff.

in England in subversion of ecclesiastical liberty.”¹ As no particular attention seems to have been paid to his first protests, Nicholas sent to England Bartholomew, bishop of Grosseto, with two letters dated May 20 and June 27, 1290, addressed to Edward, in which he stated that he had been informed that appeals to him had been prohibited, that his letters had been overridden by the King’s writ, that clerics had been made to answer before secular judges regarding non-feudal lands and possessions belonging to their churches, and that clerics had been imprisoned for taking game in the King’s preserves. If these things are so, and the King does not remedy them, the Pope will have to take such steps as justice may require.²

Accompanied by ten other horsemen, Bartholomew duly arrived in England, and presented the Pope’s letters to the King. To get rid of the nuncio’s importunity, Edward got him recalled on the ground that, as by the Pope’s commission he had to be provided with two marks a day for his expenses, he was a burden to the kingdom.³ Bartholomew died soon after leaving England, and, as the abuses against which he had remonstrated had not been remedied, Nicholas had again to renew the protest presented to Edward by the bishop of Grosseto “of good memory” (June 8, 1291).⁴ In this document Nicholas further complains that his letters concerning ecclesiastical affairs have at times not been allowed to be presented to the persons to whom they were addressed, and at times persons cited have not been allowed to leave

¹ *Cal. of P. L.*, i, 511, Ep. of Nov. 10, 1289.

² *Ib.*, pp. 526–7.

³ *Will. of Newbury, Contin.*, an. 1290, ap. *Chronicles of Stephen*, vol. ii, R. S. The same information is given in what are called the *Annals of Furness Abbey*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxviii, p. 559. The bishop’s importunity was considerable. Cf. the *Annals of Dunstable*, p. 365, which add “Utinam per hoc status ecclesiæ Anglicanæ emendetur.”

⁴ *Cal., l.c.*, p. 555, or Rymer, ii, 530.

the realm. The King must write to him undertaking to correct this state of things.

Some more months passed, and the King, through his envoys, John de Sancto Johanne and Roger Lestrangle, had merely sent a vague reply to the Pope to the effect that he was at peace with the prelates and clergy of his realm, and was ready to do justice to all. With such shirking of the questions at issue, Nicholas was naturally not satisfied. Accordingly, a few weeks before his death he wrote both to his legate, Geoffrey de Veçano, and to Edward himself, making it plain that he would not be content with anything short of a specific reply to each of the points he had raised.¹

The annual
tribute.

Nicholas had also, in the beginning of his pontificate, to complain to Edward that the annual tribute of one thousand marks due to the Holy See was three years in arrear (Apr. 28, 1288).² This time, the King hearkened to the complaint, and in the following year sent payment for six years.³ He was, however, desirous of getting rid of the obligation of this *census*, and petitioned to be allowed to place the burden on certain churches of the realm. But, as "not agreeable to the honour of the apostolic see, nor of advantage to the King", Nicholas refused to alter the negative decision which his namesake, Nicholas III., had already given to a similar petition.⁴ Nevertheless, from this time forth, the payments of this feudal rent became more irregular. In 1317 Edward II. acknowledged that it had not been paid for twenty-four years.⁵ After 1334 Edward III. ceased to pay it; and it was resolved by the Parliament of 1366 that payment

¹ Epp. of Feb. 18, 1292, ap. *Cal. of P. L.*, i, p. 556.

² Ap. Rymer, ii, 364.

³ See *ib.* for the Pope's receipt (Nov. 4, 1289) for 6,000 marks. P. 445.

⁴ Ep. of March 1, 1292, ap. *Cal. of P. L.*, i, 557.

⁵ See the letter of his envoys (Apr. 1, 1317), ap. Theiner, *Mon. Hibern.*, p. 193.

of it should be finally abolished and all arrears since 1334 cancelled (May 4, 1366).¹

In his need, not to say greed, of money, Edward next turned his eyes on the unfortunate Jews. It is not impossible that they may not have been very ready to pay crusading taxes. At any rate, "as enemies of the Cross," our King in 1288 expelled them from Gascony and all his other territories in France.² In the following year he expelled them from England, needless to say confiscating their property, but allowing them their expenses to France.³ We are told that the wretched exiles encountered a severe storm on their departure from our shores, and that, in consequence, many of them were drowned. The sight of their sufferings is said to have moved the French King, who, arguing that if "they were ungrateful enemies of God they were still his creatures", allowed them to settle in Amiens. For this act of humanity, the anonymous historian we are here quoting declares that the Pope was inflamed with anger against him, and bitterly reproached him.⁴ It is possible that our nameless chronicler may be here giving us a fact, but we believe that he was merely reporting what was *said* by those who wished to justify Edward's conduct.⁵

Expulsion
of the Jews
from
Edward's
dominions,
1288-9.

¹ Cf. Parry, *The Parliaments of England*, p. 129; and especially O. Jensen, "The Denarius S. Petri in England," ap. *Transactions of R. Hist. Soc.*, 1901, p. 188, and 1905, p. 243. See also Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.*, ii, 415.

² Rishanger, p. 116, *R. S.* More definitely they were accused of dipping the coins, and of "usury, rapine, sacrilege, theft . . . and corrupters of the Christian faith". *Chron. of Lanercost*, ad an. 1289.

³ *Ib.*, p. 118; *Ann. de Dunst.*, p. 361.

⁴ *Opus Chronicorum*, p. 57, *R. S.*

⁵ The full extent of his dexterity (not to use a harder word) in this matter is expressed with grim humour by old Sir Thos. Gray in his *Scalacronica*: "E. caused the Jews to be expelled from his realm, *wherefore* he took (a tax of) a fifteenth from the laity, and a tenth from the clergy." Ed. Sir H. Maxwell, p. 4.

IRELAND AND SCOTLAND.

Citation of
the bull of
Hadrian IV.

The relations between Nicholas IV. and Ireland are merely concerned with ordinary ecclesiastical affairs. His letters regarding that country tell us, for instance, that he had himself consecrated Stephen as archbishop of Cashel, and that the newly-ordained prelate had subsequently received the pallium from three cardinals.¹ There is, however, one of them which deserves special mention both from an historical and from a social point of view. It is only a matrimonial dispensation, but it has incorporated the reasons on which the request for the dispensation was based. They set forth that in days gone by the people of Ireland did not, "as they are bound," obey either the Holy See or the King of England, "but roamed, as it were in an unbridled manner over the fields of licence." Accordingly, "at the Pope's desire,"² Henry, King of the English, entered Ireland with an army, and reduced its people to the obedience of the Holy See and to himself. Then to keep the people in that obedience, Henry and his successors from time to time settled reliable men "of another nation" in the country. Among these was the petitioner, Geoffrey of Geynville, who had a large estate in Meath, and was striving to maintain the people in due obedience and at peace with one another. To effect this he had averred that he had need of many relations and friends, and these he and his children could only obtain by marriages with the magnates of the country. As very many of these were related to him Geoffrey had asked permission for his son to marry a cousin related to him in the fourth degree. In view of the good to be effected by the marriage,

¹ *Cal. of P. L.*, i, p. 516.

² "De voluntate sedis ipsius (Rome)." Ep. May 13, 1290, ap. Theiner, *Mon. Hib.*, p. 151, n. 331. This allusion to the famous bull of P. Hadrian is most interesting.

Nicholas declared that he gladly granted the required dispensation.

Turning from this interesting glimpse of English policy in Ireland to Scotland, and just noting that Nicholas had trouble with Scotch determination not to promote foreigners to their benefices,¹ we may at once devote our attention to the important question of the Scottish succession. Edward's sister, Margaret, had married Alexander III., King of Scotland, and their daughter, Margaret, had in turn married Eric, King of Norway. On the death of Alexander III. in 1286, the heir to his kingdom was his little granddaughter, also called Margaret, known, because the daughter of Eric, as the "Maid of Norway". Edward saw his opportunity of uniting the crowns of England and Scotland, and proposed a marriage between his son and the little Maid. His wishes were agreed to, and he applied to the Pope for a dispensation, as the two were related within the forbidden degrees. This also he succeeded in obtaining (Nov. 16, 1289).²

The
Scottish
succession,
1286 ff.

Unfortunately, however, for the schemes of Edward, the Maid died on her voyage to England (Sept., 1290), and there at once appeared over a dozen claimants to the Scottish crown. Only two, however, were able to establish serious claims. They were John Baliol and Robert Bruce, both descended from David, earl of Huntingdon, the brother of King William the Lion. Baliol was *great* grandson of the eldest daughter, whereas Bruce was the grandson of the second daughter, and so was a degree nearer to the common progenitor. Bruce,

¹ Encyclical to the Scotch, Apr. 1, 1289, ap. Rymer, ii, 417. The Pope strictly forbids any custom which excludes foreigners "ab ordinibus, officiis, et dignitatibus in prædicto Regno".

² Cf. *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, ii, 97, R. S., or Rymer, ii, 450. The Pope granted the dispensation in the interests of peace.

whose case was really the weaker, appealed to King Edward to arbitrate between himself and Baliol (1291). Edward forthwith accepted the appeal, and professed to act as overlord or lord paramount of Scotland.¹ Then, to make his position secure, he begged the Pope to confirm his title as arbitrator in the dispute. This, however, Nicholas distinctly refused to do. He was desirous, he said, of obliging the King, but the case was difficult and involved the interests of many, both clerics and laymen. If the Holy See were to act inconsiderately, great trouble might result both to the King and to others. Besides, it would not do to detract from the rights of others, "especially from the rights which the Roman Church has in that kingdom." Wherefore, on the advice of his brethren, he had to refuse to grant the King's request.²

Unfortunately for Edward, he was able, without hindrance, to pursue his ambitions. The Pope died within about a month after the dispatch of this prohibition, and the long vacancy of the Holy See which followed the death of Nicholas prevented further papal interference with his immediate designs. After some hesitation on the part of Baliol, the Scotch magnates generally accepted Edward as overlord and arbitrator. His

¹ Cf. Walter of Hemingford, ii, pp. 32-3. He claimed "esse . . . regni Scotiæ dominum capitalem"; and his advisers said "quod supremum dominium regni Scotiæ pertineret ad regem Angliæ, etc." See also the *Annals of Worcester*, p. 504. Ed. "cogitans Scotiam subjugare, in antiquis chronicis de jure regum Angliæ, quæsitum et inventum est"; and the documents in *Annales Regni Scotiæ*, in the same vol. as Rishanger, R. S.

² Ep. March 1, 1292, *Reg.*, n. 6951. "Petitioni regie in hac parte non duximus annuendum." It is unfortunate that in the *Cal. of P. L.*, i, p. 557, the *not* required both by the text and the context has been omitted.

decision was correctly given in favour of Baliol¹ ; but his interference brought about a state of things which was to give trouble to future Popes, to involve England and Scotland in bitter strife, and to hasten his own death.

¹ Cf. Lingard, *Hist. of England*, ii, p. 260 ff. ; and Vickers, *England in the later Mid. Ages*, ch. iv ; and, for the Scotch point of view, Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland*, i, p. 67 ff.

CHAPTER VII

EUROPE (PORTUGAL, CONSTANTINOPLE, SERVIA AND BULGARIA), ASIA, AFRICA. HERETICS, STUDIES. DEATH AND TOMB OF NICHOLAS.

Portugal. A
Concordat,
1289.

ALREADY, in the preceding chapters, we have seen Nicholas exerting influence all over the world, in Europe, Asia, and Africa. In order, however, to give a fuller idea of his varied activities, we must say a little more about what he effected in each of the then known continents.

During the reigns of Alfonso III. of Portugal and of Pope Gregory X. there had been difficulties in that country on the very thorny question as to the respective rights of the Church and the State. These difficulties had continued under the reign of Alfonso's successor, Dionysius or Diniz (1279-1325). Alfonso, indeed, had opposed the privileges of the Church, "not from any regard for the interests of his people, but from avarice or the lust of power."¹ By whatsoever motives inspired, Diniz would not at first observe the agreement, made by his father and accepted by himself, not to tax ecclesiastical property, not to nominate to ecclesiastical dignities and not to subject clerics to lay tribunals. For his contumacy he had been duly excommunicated, and his kingdom laid under an interdict. The opposition against him was, however, too strong, and he agreed at length with representatives of his clergy approved by Nicholas² to a concordat of forty articles (March 7, 1289). The agreement, as we now have it, was finally drawn up at Rome in the presence of cardinals Latinus, bishop of Ostia,

¹ Dunham, *The Hist. of Spain and Port.*, iii, p. 200.

² They were the archbishop of Braga, the bishop of Coimbra, etc. Cf. ep. of Feb. 1, 1289, *Reg.*, n. 457.

Peter Peregrossus of St. Mark's, and Benedict Gaetani of St. Nicholas *in Carcere*, and is preserved in the Register of Pope Nicholas.¹

Many of the articles contained accusations to which the King pleaded not guilty, but, in any case, he promised by them not to do the things of which he was accused. It had been said, e.g., that he had forced incumbents to resign their appointments. In such cases, he also agreed that, if his officials or those of his father had on their own account done such things, he would cause satisfaction to be made to the injured parties if he had not already done so. In many articles, too, promises were made that the civil authority would not interfere with legitimate sentences of excommunication. The King also engaged not to impose certain taxes on the clergy, and not to violate sanctuary nor the persons or property of clerics. He also undertook to prevent his judges or barons treating ecclesiastics or their claims unjustly, and to see that the Jews wore a special badge and paid tithes in certain cases. He further consented not to interfere with ecclesiastical elections. On the other hand the bishops agreed that delimitations of parishes made by them should be just and fair, and only made after due public notice had been given (n. 8), and they also had to agree to give up certain tithes (n. 9).²

On March 23, 1289, Diniz was freed from excommunication, and his country from interdict.³ A few months later, Nicholas had to ask the monks to come to the help of the bishops, and make them grants of money to meet the great expenses they had incurred in their long and arduous fight for ecclesiastical liberty.⁴

¹ *Reg.*, n. 716, whence it is also published in the *Raccolta di Concordati tra la S. Sede e le autorità civili*, p. 94 ff., Rome, 1919.

² *Cf.*, relating to the above, Potthast, nn. 22908 (March 16, 1289) and 22910-12.

³ *Reg.*, nn. 795-6.

⁴ *Reg.*, n. 1618, Sept. 24, 1289.

Though Nicholas had again to exhort the Portuguese monarch not to suffer his nobles to injure the Church,¹ his subsequent relations with him were most friendly. He was constantly granting him favours,² and, as we shall see presently, supported the King's scheme for a *studium generale* (university) at Lisbon.

Constanti-
nople. A
proposed
marriage,
1288.

Passing from one end of Europe to the other, we see Nicholas interested in a proposed marriage for Michael, the eldest son of Andronicus II., Emperor of Constantinople. That wretched prince who was only successful in breaking the union between the Greek and Latin Churches, and in embroiling the Greek Church, deposing one patriarch after another, was anxious to secure a suitable wife for his son. With no little sagacity, he fixed his eye on Catherine, daughter and heiress of Philip of Courtenay, the son of Baldwin II., the last Latin Emperor of Constantinople. Such a marriage would put an end to any further danger of Latin interference with the rights of the Palæologi to the Byzantine throne; and, as Catherine's mother was a daughter of Charles I. of Anjou, that formidable house would be converted from hostility to friendship towards them. Accordingly, on the subject of the marriage, he approached Robert of Artois, regent for Charles II. of Sicily, uncle of the lady, but then a prisoner in Aragon. The count at once informed the Pope and the King of France of the offer that had been made. Perhaps in the hope of reopening the question of reunion of the Greek and the Latin Churches for which he had worked so hard, Nicholas would appear to have thought that a favourable hearing should be given to the Emperor's request. Envoys were, at any

¹ Potthast, n. 23065, Sept. 1, 1289. Cf. *ib.*, n. 23066, or *Reg.*, n. 1353.

² E.g., *Reg.*, nn. 3014, 3580, 4802, etc. On all these relations with Diniz, the reader may also consult M. Murdo, *The Hist. of Portugal*, ii, p. 33 ff., rather badly written as it is, and wholly devoid of references.

rate, at once sent off to the East, and were received with the greatest honour by Andronicus then staying at Nymphæum. Pachymeres, who tells us this, adds that he himself chanced to come there whilst "the Italians" were with the Emperor, and at their request he told them all about the young Prince whom he had just left at Constantinople. The envoys were delighted with what they heard about him, and the marriage treaty seemed to be on the point of completion.¹ But the religious bigotry of Andronicus spoilt his plans. He would not furnish the envoy whom he sent to the Kingdom of Apulia where the lady was residing with letters for the Pope. This he would not do,² because etiquette required that he should address him as "Your Holiness" (most holy).³ The fact that Andronicus was at least attempting to ignore him cannot but have soon impressed itself upon Nicholas. Though he must have been prejudiced against the Greek Emperor for his having broken the Union, he would perhaps have used his great influence with the House of Anjou in his behalf, if he had made any kind of friendly advances to him. As it was, he saw clearly that there was nothing to hope from the extreme

¹ *De Andronico*, l. ii, c. 18, vol. ii, p. 153; l. iii, c. 1, p. 195; ed. Bonn. The account of these negotiations in Nicephorus Gregoras, *Hist. Byz.*, l. vi, c. 8, is only a series of mistakes. See C. du Fresne, *Hist. de l'Empire de Constantinople*, p. 97, ed. Venice, 1729. He, and those who have followed him, speak of two letters of Nicholas IV. to Count Robert on this matter. There would appear to be only one.

² He suspected the pride of the Pope of Rome, says Pachymeres, iii, c. 5.

³ "Οἷς (letters) ἔδει ἀγιωτατον γράφειν τὸν παπαν." Pach., *l.c.*, iii, 5, p. 202. This reminds me that a reviewer, who once wrote a very kindly notice of one of my previous volumes (xiii), remarked that I went too far in using "as evidence the flowery language of compliment . . . which fills the real outlines of contemporary documents". Perhaps I did; but I do know the special passages to which my reviewer referred, and the above quotation shows that some men in the Middle Ages attached great importance to the language of compliment.

bigotry of Andronicus, and so opposed his wishes. However, he wrote to Robert of Artois not to break off the negotiations till he had also heard from the French King on the matter.¹ But he need not have counselled any such delay, for it was realized in France that Catherine could be used at any moment as a card against Andronicus, and so was too valuable to be given over to him. The "noble gentleman" Andronicus, as the Pope would only call him, had to be content with an Armenian princess for his son, as she was quite ready to give up her creed for that of the Greeks.²

Change of
front, 1290.

Time, however, inspired Andronicus with a little more diplomatic sense. The hopeless dissensions of the Greek church, and the utter incompetence of his son Michael, not to speak of his own,³ made the Greek Emperor think of entering into relations with Nicholas. He caused it to be supposed in Rome that he had returned to the unity of the Church. The Pope accordingly wrote "to his very dear son Andronicus Palæologus, the illustrious Emperor of the Greeks", to say how glad he was that God had placed him in the bosom of the Apostolic See, and he excused himself for not having sent him a special envoy when he took upon himself the apostolic duties. The fact was, he declared, that the envoy whom Andronicus had sent to Philip of France had also presented himself before him (the Pope), and had assured him that the Emperor was about to send an embassy to him to make known his desires and intentions.⁴

¹ *Reg.*, n. 594, June 3, 1288. On his side Nicholas would only style Andronicus "a noble gentleman, nobilis vir".

² Cf. Lebeau, *Hist. du Bas-Empire*, vol. xviii, 378 f. Catherine subsequently (1301) married Charles of Valois. See J. le Roulx, *La France en Orient*, i, p. 43 f. Nicephorus Gregoras, *l.c.*, says that the negotiations were broken off on account of the demands of the Latins. No doubt one was that Catherine's religion should not be interfered with.

³ Cf. Finlay, *Hist. of the Byz. and Greek Empires*, p. 463 ff.

⁴ *Reg.*, n. 7242, Jan. 12, 1290.

Unfortunately, we know nothing about the sequel of these communications. Still friendly intercourse, at least, had been established, so that when the disasters in the Holy Land caused Nicholas to attempt to arouse the zeal of every Christian against the Moslem, one of those whom he tried to induce to make war upon the infidel was the Emperor Andronicus.¹ Had Nicholas lived, and his Crusade taken shape, it is possible that in his own interests, Andronicus might have joined it. As it was, he proved himself incapable of stopping the advance in Asia Minor, even of the worn-out Seljuk Turks, and powerless to stop the rise of the Ottoman Turks who, in a century and a half, were for ever to blot off the map the Empire of Constantinople.

One of those Princes to whom the worthless Andronicus lost territory was Stephen Urosh II., Milutin, King of Serbia (1282-1321). During the long reign of this brave but utterly undisciplined sovereign,² Serbia developed considerably, and made no little preparation for the brief period in the following century when it was to be the dominant power in the Balkans.³

The real Serbia began with the Grand Jupan, Stephen I. Nemenja. He had assured Innocent III. (1199) that he had, like his father (St. Symeon Nemanja), always looked to the Roman Church, and ever wished to keep its precepts.⁴ The development of the country continued

The intended
Crusade,
1291.

Its King gets
a crown from
Rome, 1220.

¹ *Reg.*, nn. 6809-14 ; 6825-32, Aug. 13-23, 1291.

² He would appear to have been a regular *Bluebeard* in the matter of his wives and his treatment of them. A Serb historian, D. Davidovits, whose history of his country has been translated into French (*Hist. de la nation Serbe*, Belgrade, 1848), allows that both Eastern and Western historians are agreed on the faults of S. U. II., but says he prefers to rely on the narrative of archbishop Daniel, once Milutin's tutor, who says nothing of the King's vices. Pp. 61-2.

³ Temperley, *History of Serbia*, p. 50 f.

⁴ "Nos autem semper consideramus in vestigia S. Rom. Ecclesiæ, sicut bone memorie pater meus, et preceptum S. R. E. semper custodire." Ep. ap. Theiner, *Vet. mon. Slav. Meridional.*, vol. i, p. 6, n. 11,

under his son Stephen II. "the first crowned," who asked Innocent for a regal crown. Though, out of regard for the King of Hungary, his request was refused by Innocent,¹ he was more successful with his successor. He had already promised Innocent to bring his country to the obedience of Rome instead of that of Constantinople, and now, through his younger brother, the famous Servian patron Saint Sava (or Sava), asked Honorius III. for the crown. The Saint had been a monk at Mt. Athos,² and then (1221) by the Emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople, at that epoch both Latins, had been made archbishop of Servia.³ His contemporary biographer, the monk Dometian, writes: "Sava sent to Rome one of his disciples, bishop Methodius, with presents worthy of His Holiness. He begged the glorious apostles Peter and Paul and their successor to bless his country, and to deign to crown its orthodox Prince. He also asked the successor of the glorious apostles to confirm his own elevation to the archiepiscopal dignity. God who hearkened to all the requests of his beloved servant, moved the Pope by the Holy Ghost to send the crown. When the blessed diadem was brought to Sava's country, his orthodox brother, the Grand Jupan Stephen, came to the archbishop's residence at Ujitza (Jidicensis), to the monastery he had himself founded. . . . Then during Matins, the Saint took the sacred diadem into his hands, and placed it on the head of his pious brother,

¹ Cf. *supra*, vol. xii, pp. 8 and 33.

² Then in union with Rome. Cf. Nilles, *Kalendar. utriusque ecclesiæ*, vol. i, pp. 179-80.

³ Cf. a short account of St. Sava ap. *ib.*, p. 446 ff. S. received his archiepiscopal power from the Latin patriarch Gervase (or Everard), who, inflated with his new dignity, encroached on papal prerogatives, by dispatching legates *a latere*, interfering with the rights of bishops, etc. No wonder S. asked Honorius to confirm his rank. Cf. Belin, *Hist. de la Latinité de Constantinople*, p. 85, and *supra*, vol. xi, p. 285, n.

and by the grace of the Holy Ghost, consecrated him, so for the future he was called the "Lord King".¹

The contemporary archdeacon Thomas, in his *Historia Salonita*, says it was Stephen himself who sent to ask for the crown, and that Honorius sent with it his legate, who crowned Stephen "and constituted him the first King of his territory".² To reconcile the two statements, we have only to suppose that the mission of St. Sava was in Stephen's name, and that the legate allowed one brother to crown another in the Pope's name.

However that may be, it is certain that immediately after his coronation, the new King sent Methodius to Honorius with a letter which has come down to us.³ It is addressed: "To the most holy Father and lord Honorius, universal pontiff of the See of the Roman Church, Stephen by the grace of God crowned King of all Servia, of Dioclea, Trebinje, Dalmatia, and Herzegovina, humble greeting in all fidelity and constancy." It then goes on: "As all Christians love and honour you, and hold you as father and lord, so we too desire to be accounted the faithful son (of your holiness) and of the Roman Church, and we pray, if it so please you, that God's blessing and yours may ever plainly rest on our crown and country. Wherefore have we sent you our bishop Methodius; so that, should you think

K. Stephen
writes to the
Pope, 1220.

¹ This *life* of Dometian was published by Martinov, Brussels, 1863, in his *Trifolium Serbicum coronæ SS. Cyrilli et Methodii*. It was written about 1250. Martinov has given a Latin translation of the old Slav original. A French translation of the *life* along with the original is given by A. Chodzko, *Légendes Slaves du moyen âge*, Paris, 1858. In the *life* of S. Sava, published in 1921 by the Soc. for Promoting Christian Knowledge, pp. 25-6, there is no mention of this sending to Rome for a crown. But the *Lives of the Serbian Saints* is translated from a martyrology edited last century "for the use of the Church throughout Serbia". *Ib.*, p. vii.

² P. 91, ed. Rački, Agram, 1894.

³ It is to be found in the *Register* of Hon. III., and has been printed by Raynaldus, *Ann.*, 1220, n. 37.

it well, you could let us know your will by means of the bearer of these presents.”¹

Nicholas IV.
and Stephen
Dragutin,
1288.

Despite all this, however, and despite the fact that, in 1199, the famous council of Dioclea had acknowledged that “the most holy Roman Church was the mother and mistress of all the Churches”,² it would not seem that there was any close union between Rome and Servia after these events. At any rate, any union there may have been would appear to have worn thin when Nicholas IV. began his correspondence with the brothers Stephen Dragutin and Urosh II. It has been thought that Stephen II. Nemanja was induced to turn to Rome through the influence of his wife, the niece of the great doge, Henry Dandolo.³ If Stephen Dragutin did the same, it was largely due to his mother Helen, who “tradition says, was a French woman, and who was probably a Catholic”.⁴ On August 8, 1288, Nicholas wrote to her as “the illustrious Queen of the Slavs”, and urged her not to fail by continued exhortations to try to induce her two sons, Dragutin and Urosh, Kings of the Slavs, to *return* to the unity of the Catholic faith, and to *bring back* their people to it.⁵ He had already written to the two Kings⁶ themselves, and had sent them two Franciscan monks, Marinus and Cyprianus, to convert them.⁷ He had reminded them that faith

¹ Cf. *supra*, vol. xii, pp. 32-3.

² Ap. Theiner, *Vet. mon.*, i, p. 7, or Smičiklas, *Cod. diplom. regni Croatiae, etc.*, ii, p. 335.

³ A. d'Avril, *La Serbie chrétienne*, p. 118, Paris, 1897. We have found all his works on the Eastern churches most useful.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 119.

⁵ Ap. Theiner, *l.c.*, n. 580, p. 359 f.

⁶ In 1282 Dragutin had “divided the kingship with his younger brother”, but from that date till his death (1316) “he had little power”. Temperley, *l.c.*, p. 49. If T. had consulted these letters of Nicholas IV., he would probably have modified some of his remarks anent the completeness of the subjection of Servia to Constantinople at this period.

⁷ Ep. of July 23, 1288, ap. *ib.*, p. 360 f. The letter also contains a profession of faith.

is one, and that it is preserved by the Roman Church, and he had exhorted them to return to her bosom.

On Stephen Urosh neither Nicholas nor the friars made any impression, but it was different with his elder brother Stephen Dragutin. He returned to the unity of the Roman Church, and in his zeal for the return of his people to the faith begged Nicholas to send into those parts of Bosnia which were subject to his sway some suitable persons who were acquainted with the language of the country to withdraw his subjects from heresy.¹ This the Pope did,² and, in return for the zeal of Dragutin, he took under his protection the King's person and all the territories which he held justly at the time.³

Though the submission had no great effect on the Servian people strictly so called, it was not without some influence upon them, and these successive Latin influences, as it has been truly said, "added a new and rich element to the civilization of mediæval Serbia."⁴

Encouraged by the success of the Queen-mother in King George of Bulgaria, Servia, Nicholas exhorted her to use her influence with the perennially inconstant rulers of Bulgaria.⁵ Frequent marriages with Greek princesses had removed the Kings of Bulgaria further and further from the Catholic faith and Western ideas. It would seem, however, that George Terterii, who ruled Bulgaria in the days of Nicholas, had given some indications of a wish to be united with Rome. The fact was that, at this period, as the fortunes of Servia in the Balkans were rising those of Bulgaria were falling. Greeks and Tartars from without, and

¹ Cf. ep. March 23, 1291, to S. D., ap. Theiner, *l.c.*, p. 377, n. 610.

² *Ib.*, n. 611.

³ Ep. March 15, 1291, ap. *ib.*, n. 605. "Quanto propensiori affectu consurgis ad nostra et ipsius ecclesie beneplacita proseguenda, etc."

⁴ Temperley, *l.c.*, p. 53.

⁵ Only a few months ago (writing in Feb., 1926) the ex-King Ferdinand of Bulgaria made his submission here in Rome to the head of the Church he had repudiated.

dynastic decay from within were bringing the country to the verge of ruin. In the midst of disorders of every kind, the nobles in 1280 raised one of their number, George Terterii, to the throne. To make head against the Greeks, George turned to Charles of Anjou for armed assistance,¹ and to the Pope for religious support. The Sicilian Vespers and its consequences prevented any Angevin help from reaching Bulgaria, but, nevertheless, Terterii would appear to have still thought of ecclesiastical union with Rome. At any rate, he listened to the Queen-mother, Helen of Servia, whom Nicholas called "the divinely illumined light of the Catholic faith", and who had spoken to him on the need of reunion with the Catholic Church. At her suggestion, it was arranged that a conference on reunion should be held in the summer of 1291, and that the Pope should enter into communication with George, "Emperor of the Bulgarians," and with the archbishop of the Bulgarians. Nicholas approved of her plans,² and earnestly exhorted her to push them with vigour. He wrote to the Bulgarian ruler, impressing on him the necessity of union with the Roman Church, which, by the will of Christ, was the ruler of all the churches.³ By that same will it was for him to strive to direct all men in the way of God's commandments. Both to the King and the archbishop he sent a profession of faith. Unfortunately Nicholas was not sure of the identity of the archbishop, or he might

¹ In this he was following the example of his predecessor, Constantin. The Register of Charles I. of Anjou shows that in 1271 he was expecting envoys from the ruler of Bulgaria. Cf. C. M. Riccio, *Saggio di Cod. dip.*, i, p. 87, n. 94. On this chapter of Bulgarian history, see G. Bousquet, *Hist. du peuple Bulgare*, p. 90 ff., and W. Müller, *The Balkans*, p. 182 ff.

² Ep. of March 23, 1291, ap. Theiner, *M.H.*, i, p. 375, n. 607.

³ Ep. *ib.*, n. 608. The Roman Church "que, disponente Jesu Christo, . . . sola super omnes ecclesias summum et precipuum optinet principatum".

have been able to strike a more personal note with him. As it was, recalling his strenuous work in Constantinople for the Greek reunion of 1274, he said to the archbishop that he had every hope in him if he was the same man who, "in the imperial palace of Blachernæ before the Emperor Michael Palæologus and us, professed that you were directly subject to the Pope of Rome."¹

Very little, if any result, would appear to have resulted from this intervention of Queen Helen and Pope Nicholas. The latter died about a year after the dispatch of these letters, and if the archbishop, whose name was Joachim, was in favour of union in Rome, he was slain (1296), and his successors remained in schism.²

Although, speaking generally, until the destruction of Armenia. the kingdom of Lesser Armenia (Cilicia) in 1374, the people of that country were in communion with the see of Rome, their loyalty to it might at times have been more pronounced. During the pontificate of Nicholas, King Leo III. had died: "an obedient son, and a Catholic Christian" (1289), as the Pope had learnt from John of Montecorvino, and the same authority had assured him that Leo's son and successor, Hayton II., was devoted to the Roman Church, and was in union with it.³ Nevertheless, in order, as he said, that the King might be more fully instructed in the Christian faith as preserved by the Roman Church, Nicholas sent him a profession of faith—the same one which Clement IV.

¹ *Ib.*, n. 609, like the last of March 23, 1291. "Cum tu, si tamen ille sis, qui tunc erat Archiepiscopus Bulgarorum olim coram . . . M. Palæologo . . . eo tempore Constantinopoli residente, professus fueris . . . coram nobis . . . oraculo vive vocis te pape Romano immediate subesse."

² Cf. D'Avril, *La Bulgarie chrétienne*, p. 27, and G. Markovič, *Gli Slavi ed i Papi*, vol. ii, pp. 351, 573 ff.

³ Ep. ad Aytonum, July 7, 1289, ap. Raynaldus, an. 1289, n. 57. "Fratre Joanne de Montecorvino . . . nobis ex parte regia referente, quod erga R. ecclesiam . . . ferventis devotionis geris affectum."

had sent to Michael Palæologus, and which was the one used by the Popes at this period.

Nicholas also wrote to Mary, the sister of the Queen of Armenia, to Thoros the King's brother, and other notables, as well as to the Armenian people themselves, urging them to cherish the union.¹ He, moreover, entrusted his letters to the same famous Friar John who had brought him news of the faith of Armenia, and whom he was sending to China. Nicholas also encouraged union between the kingdoms of Armenia and Cyprus. For this purpose he authorized marriages between a sister of Henry, King of Cyprus, and a brother of King Hayton, and between a son of Hugh, the late King of Cyprus, and one of Hayton's sisters, although the parties were united in the fourth degree of consanguinity. From these marriages the Pope looked for great advantage for the Holy Land, and for enhanced security for the faithful in those parts.²

The
Armenians
lose their
inde-
pendence
and the
Catholic
faith.

The affectionate feeling of Nicholas for Armenia was, as we have already seen, clearly displayed by his efforts to save it, after the fall of Acre, from the destructive hand of Khalil.³ But such Crusaders as, in 1292, sailed to the East, practically did nothing,⁴ and before the end of the next century the gallant little kingdom of Armenia-Cilicia had lost its independence. Moreover, as we learn from the German traveller, Johann Schiltberger,⁵ the majority of them had by that time "separated from Rome", though, he says, they had great confidence in the Catholic faith, and assured him that between their religion and ours (the Catholic) there was only a hair's

¹ *Ib.*, n. 58, and *Reg.*, nn. 2229-39, July 7-14, 1289.

² Ep. May 7, 1290, ap. *Reg.*, n. 2667, "Ut asserit prædictus Henricus." See also Gatenus, *Conciliationis eccles. Arm.*, i, p. 403 ff.

³ *Cf. supra*, p. 61.

⁴ Sanudo, *Secreta*, l. iii, pt. xiii, c. 1, p. 232, "cum nihil egissent."

⁵ *Travels of J. S.*, pp. 91-3, in the Hakluyt series, No. 53.

breadth, but that there was a great division between the Greek and their religion.

Meanwhile, we may note that the Armenian patriarch Stephen was not so submissive to Rome as his sovereign Hayton. Although, as his successor the learned Gregory acknowledged, it belonged to the Roman pontiff alone to grant matrimonial dispensations, Stephen presumed to grant permission to the Armenian prince Sembat to marry Isabella, the daughter of Guy, Count of Joppa, though they were related in the third degree. However, at the instance of the Patriarch Gregory, Boniface VIII., after annulling the dispensation of Stephen, regularized the marriage himself.¹

Passing over Nicholas' letter to the patriarch of the Jacobites on the subject of union,² but noting his appointment of the Franciscan, brother Roderick, to the archbishopric of Morocco (1290), after a long vacancy of that see,³ we may briefly review his attitude towards "heretical depravity" with which he was much occupied. A great many of his letters are concerned with it.⁴ He was insistent that local authorities should insert in their municipal regulations "the laws against heretical depravity promulgated by Frederick (II), once Emperor of the Romans".⁵ He also, for the strengthening of the faith and the salvation of the faithful, renewed the

Presumption of the Armenian patriarch.

"Heretical depravity."

¹ See his letter of Oct. 11, 1298, given in full ap. Galenus, *l.c.*, p. 412 ff. Cf. Tournebize, *Hist. de l'Arménie*, p. 301 f., who says that the act of Stephen can be explained by difficulty of communication with Rome and "par un moment d'oubli, d'entraînement".

² Ep. July 7, 1289, *Reg.*, n. 2218.

³ Ep. ap. Wadding, *Annales*, vol. v, p. 532, n. 37, and Potthast, nn. 23138, and 23180 and 3. This Nicholas was able to do, as the Sultans of Morocco employed regular companies of European soldiers. See on this curious state of things, M. L. de Mas Latrie, *Traité des chrétiens avec les Arabes*, pp. 147-54, and pt. ii, p. 17.

⁴ E.g., Potthast, 22839-47; 22946, etc., etc.

⁵ Ep. Dec. 23, 1288, ap. Raynaldus, *Ann.*, 1288, n. 27.

decrees of his predecessors against the Cathari and other heretics.¹ Moreover, he commanded the inquisitors to force the local authorities by threat of excommunication to carry out their sentences.² Especially did he devote attention to stopping the migration of the Cathari and kindred heretics from the south of France to Lombardy.³

He condemned, too, the so-called Order of the Apostles,⁴ but though severe against Christians who became Jews, or against Jews who had become Christians, and had then apostatized,⁵ he protected the Jews themselves.⁶

Nicholas
himself not
hard on
heretics.

Although very severe on paper against heretics, Nicholas, to judge by the case of our countryman, brother Richard de "Clappewelle", would not appear to have been very hard on them in practice. According to the Annals of Dunstable,⁷ the said brother had in the year 1287 been condemned for heretical teaching on many points. He, thereupon, betook himself to Rome, and appealed to the Pope. He was simply ordered not to ventilate his opinions in future. However, on his return journey, he renewed his heretical teaching at Bologna. Here, however, he would appear to have lost his mind, or to have been regarded as a fool,⁸ and at any rate died in want and misery.

Nicholas
and various
Universities
(a) Padua.

Although, on account of the anti-social tendencies of the majority of the heretical doctrines of the days of Nicholas IV., it was necessary for him to prevent the laws against their teachers from falling into desuetude,

¹ *Ib.*

² Potthast, n. 22842.

³ Documents cited by Douais, *Documents de l'Inquisition*, vol. i, p. xxxii f.

⁴ *Reg.*, n. 4253.

⁵ *Ib.*, n. 322, Sept. 5, 1288.

⁶ *Ib.*, nn. 313, 4184.

⁷ P. 341.

⁸ *Ib.*, "Sed ibi incidit in desipientiam et miseriam magnam valde."

Not unnaturally, as much taken up with these matters of conscience, Nicholas turned his attention to the Papal Penitentiary, of which we have treated under Nicholas III. On the *Summa* of N. IV. see Haskens, *The Papal Penitentiary*, p. 426.

it is more pleasant to speak of his zeal for the spread of learning, and for the well-being of the Universities. In their interest, for instance, we see him absolving students from rash vows, the observance of which would have meant ruin to the University and to the city in which it was. In the autumn before his accession, there had been a great commotion at the University of Padua. The Italian students and two or three of the Ultramontanes had elected a certain James de Arena as a professor of Civil Law.¹ He appears to have been a suitable man. He is called by the Pope "his beloved son", and the election was approved of by the Commune. For some reason, however, the foreign students would not have him, and they swore that, if he were not removed from the post for ten years, they would leave the University, and would not return for ten years. As this would have meant ruin for the University and a great loss to the town, the Commune begged the intervention of the Pope. Nicholas, accordingly, took the matter up, and commissioned the archpriest of the cathedral, for the general good both of the students and of the city, to absolve the Ultramontanes from the oath they had taken, but to impose a suitable penance upon them for the excess of which they had been guilty.²

A few years later, we find him authorizing the bishop (b) Bologna. of Bologna to do the same for the students of the University of that city. The civil authorities had ordered the banking companies of the Amanati and Clarentes of Pistoia, who were the bankers of the University, to leave the city by a certain date; nor would they listen to the request of the University that the date should be altered. The interval allowed by the city authorities

¹ From the Pope's letter, *Reg.*, n. 112, June 1, 1288, we learn that at Padua, the students elected and the city confirmed the election of the Professors of Civil Law.

² *Ib.*

did not give the students time enough to close their transactions with the banks. Thereupon, as the request was refused, the syndic of the University took an oath, in its name, that the students would leave the city if their petition was not granted. By partial concessions on the part of the commune and the action of the Pope, a crisis was avoided.¹ Then, to show his sympathy with the University, he granted all its students who had duly received from the archdeacon of Bologna their doctorate in civil or canon law, the right of teaching anywhere without any further examination.²

(c) Paris.

Nicholas had to pursue an almost identical course of action in connection with the University of Paris. This time the trouble was, as so often in Paris, between the University and the Chancellor. In defiance of Apostolic privileges, of custom, and the decrees of the University itself, the Chancellor, so it was said, persisted in granting the doctorate in theology, medicine, and the liberal arts, not to the properly qualified candidates presented by the University, but to those whom he thought fit, whether qualified or not. The University appealed to the Pope.³ Nicholas at once commissioned a number of bishops and others to examine into the truth of the charges against the Chancellor, and to try to arrange matters. It was most important, he said, that peace should be restored to the University, so that the abundant fruits which came from the teaching of the Paris University should not be injured.⁴

Again, as in the case of the University of Bologna and

¹ *Reg.*, n. 5821, Aug. 11, 1291.

² *Ib.*, n. 5861, Aug. 18, 1291.

³ The appeal was lodged by the Rector of the University John, called Vate, against Master Bertrand of St. Denis, Aug. 6, 1290. *Cf.* Denifle, *ubi infra*, n. 569.

⁴ *Reg.*, n. 6905, March 15, 1292. Should his commissioners be unable to settle the question, it was to be referred to him. *Cf.* Crevier, *Hist. de l'Université de Paris*, ii, 127 ff.

on the same conditions, he gave the Paris students the *jus ubique docendi*.¹

At Montpellier there had long been a famous school of medicine, and Nicholas, considering that "it would be for the public good" if a "studium generale" were established there, by a bull dated Oct. 25, 1289, duly erected a University in that city. Its authorities were authorized to confer degrees in canon and civil law, medicine, and the arts, but not in theology, and its properly approved candidates were also granted the right of teaching everywhere without further examination.²

In response to the request of the archbishop of Besançon of the Count of Burgundy and of a number of abbots, priests and professors, Nicholas erected the school of Grätz, the capital of Styria, into a University exactly on the same lines as those of Montpellier.³ Because, said the Pope in his bull of foundation, by the help of God, where studies flourish, divine worship is improved, the Catholic faith grows strong, and people are elevated by virtue and learning, "we readily plant those studies in suitable places . . . and foster them by apostolic favours."⁴

In the first year of the pontificate of Nicholas, a petition was presented to him from the abbot of Alcobaça and other important ecclesiastics praying him to confirm the establishment at Lisbon of a Studium Generale to be supported by a tax to be levied on the properties of

¹ *Ib.*, n. 6932, March 25, 1292. Nicholas himself had, at times, difficulties with the Chancellor of the University of Paris, and could not always get a degree for a candidate presented by himself. Cf. Denifle, *Chartular. Univer. Par.*, vol. ii, nn. 548, 550-1. Cf. *ib.*, i, p. 291.

² *Reg.*, n. 1584.

³ *Ib.*, n. 4570, March 7, 1291. On Montpellier University, see Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, vol. ii, pt. i, p. 113 ff.

⁴ *Ib.*, n. 4570, March 7, 1291. He founded the "studium generale" "ut cultores sapientiæ augmententur".

the petitioners.¹ As we learn from the Pope's reply, King Diniz had already established the various faculties at Lisbon, so that Nicholas, in this case, had only to ratify what had been done, and to grant the *jus ubique docendi* without further examination to such as had been duly acknowledged qualified by the University authorities. From this privilege, however, he excepted the right of teaching theology.² Then, in the interest of the students, he urged the King to compel the citizens to let vacant houses to the students at a price to be fixed by a committee of clerics and laymen. After various wanderings backwards and forwards between Lisbon and Coimbra, the University that Nicholas confirmed is now in the latter city.

It is especially in considering the relations of the Papacy to learning and the Universities, that one perhaps realizes most easily what Europe has suffered by having ceased to be *Christendom*, one family under the overlordship of the Popes.

Death of
Nicholas IV.,
1292.

The work, however, of Nicholas IV., scholastic and missionary as well as political, was now done. He was "worn out with age".³ We read, indeed, of his being so ill in May, 1279, that he could not attend the General Chapter of the Friars Minor at Assisi⁴; but one does

¹ Cf. Brandao, *Monarchia Lusitana*, pt. v, p. 530, cited by Rashdall, *l.c.*, p. 102. See the reply of the Pope quoted in the following note, whence also we learn that, in a truly patriotic spirit, the salaries of the masters were to be provided by some prelates, Cistercian abbots, Augustinian and Benedictine priors and rectors of certain churches in the kingdoms of Portugal and Algarve.

² *Reg.*, n. 3102, Aug. 9, 1290. The bull is given in full in Raynaldus, *Ann.*, 1290, n. 52, or in *Bullar. Rom.*, iv, p. 103 f. "Et quicumque magister in civitate præfata (Lisbon) per episcopum vel vicarium supradictos examinatus et approbatus fuerit in facultate quacumque, theologica dumtaxat excepta, ubique sine alia examinatione regendi liberam habeat potestatem."

³ Stefaneschi, *Vita S. Celestini*, l. i, c. 1, ap. *R. I. SS.*, iii, pt. i, p. 620.

⁴ See ep. of Nich. III. to the Chapter, ap. Wadding, *Annal.*, v, p. 70.

not read of any particular illness from which he suffered during his pontificate. It was believed, at the time, that the fever from which he died¹ was brought on by grief at the loss of the Holy Land.² Whether that was so or not, we learn from the famous James de Voragine that when he had, in 1292, been made archbishop of Genoa by Nicholas, and had been summoned by him to Rome to be consecrated, he found him on Palm Sunday "suffering from a severe and dangerous sickness". He died a few days after, on Good Friday (Apr. 4) in the palace at St. Mary Major's which he had completed, and "as we believe, entered the heavenly palace".³

The body of the devoted Nicholas was buried near Tomb. that of St. Jerome in St. Mary Major's for which he had done so much.⁴ More exactly, it was interred in that one of the four Colonna chapels which was at the north-west angle of the basilica, and the site of the coffin was marked by a slab which displayed the arms of Nicholas, and was decorated with porphyry.⁵ His epitaph set forth that this son of St. Francis who, when Pope, had restored the Church of St. Mary Major, had, when dying, ordered that his bones should remain in a lowly tomb.⁶

When, however, in 1572, some levelling operations in the basilica brought to light "the antique urn" in which

¹ Bonincontri, *Hist. Sicil.*, i, 65.

² John Eremos., ap. Golubovich, *Bib. dell' Orient.*, ii, 109.

³ J. de V., *Chron. Jan.*, c. 9, ap. *R. I. SS.*, ix, p. 53. We, too, may hope that, in accordance with his motto, the light of God's countenance then fell upon his servant. "Illumina faciem tuam super servum tuum." He died "apud S. Mariam M." G. Spiapasto, *Cron. Rom.*, p. 427.

⁴ *Chron. SS. PP.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiv, p. 440.

⁵ Platina, *Vit. Nic. IV.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, iii, pt. i, p. 257, new ed.

⁶ "Hic tumulus tumulat humilem; qui fascibus auctus Sic moriens statuit ossa manere sua," etc., ap. e.g., P. de Angelis, *Basilica S. M. Maj.*, p. 158.

his body had been enclosed,¹ the Franciscan cardinal, who afterwards became the famous Pope Sixtus V., commissioned Fontana to design for it the mausoleum that one now sees on the left of the main door. The centre of the monument is taken up with the seated figure of the Pope stretching out his hand, not in the act of benediction,² but in that of gracious invitation to approach him. Allegorical figures of Justice and Religion, the work of the sculptor Leonardo da Sarzana, stand on either side of the Pontiff. At the top of the monument are seen the arms of Nicholas, and at the bottom those of the cardinal. At the base is an inscription which states that Bro. Felix Peretti, cardinal of Montalto, erected it in 1574 to Pope Nicholas, who was of the same Order (the Franciscan) and nationality as himself, and whose body had long lain in a neglected tomb.³

Benedict
XIV.
prohibits
cult of
Nicholas IV.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century there sprang up a cult of Nicholas, but Benedict XIV. showed that it was wholly unauthorized, and forbade any relics of his to be in any way exposed for public veneration (Oct. 24, 1750).⁴

¹ *Ib.*

² As stated by Gregorovius, *Tombs of the Popes*, p. 55.

³ Ap. de Angelis, *ib.* Then follows a long eulogy of Nicholas of not sufficient importance to be quoted here.

⁴ See his *De beatificatione*, in vol. vi, p. 186 ff. of his works, Prati, 1842. Cf. Rubens (ed. Matthaei), p. xlvi ff. and p. 194 ff.

ST. CELESTINE V.

A.D. 1294.

Sources.—Though there exists a mutilated fragment containing seven letters of the *Registrum Camerale* of C. V., his ordinary *Register* is lost.¹ Existing original bulls of his, however, show that a *Register* like those of his predecessors was extant even after the days of Boniface VIII. Six such documents were examined by P. M. Baumgarten, each marked on the back with the letter *R* and other marks, showing not only that they had been registered, but even in what chapter of the *Register* they had been placed. As in other *Registers* of the period, there were in Celestine's lost *Register* both *litteræ communes* and *litteræ curiales*; and in the Vatican Archives there may still be seen a small collection of sixteen political letters which appear to have been copied from the latter part of the *Register*, and were certainly copied long after the pontificate of Boniface VIII. It would seem to be likely that the *Register* of C. perished by neglect. As Boniface properly cancelled a large proportion of the documents, no doubt therein registered,² and, as some of them were drawn up in improper form, and others were said to contain clauses that Celestine had not even seen, still less authorized,³ it is not wonderful that no one had any use for such an unreliable collection, and that it perished as valueless. Ptolemy of Lucca, indeed, who was often in the presence of Celestine, declares that there had actually been found documents which proved that the same

¹ What we have to say on the subject of the Register of C. is, for the most part, taken from a pamphlet of P. M. Baumgarten, *Regesto di Celestino V.*, Chieti, 1896.

² See a number of Boniface's letters of Apr. 8, 1295, ap. Potthast, nn. 24061–3. Two are given in full in Bartholomew of Cotton, *Hist.*, p. 265 ff., R. S.

³ "Concessit," says Boniface, ap. B. of C., p. 265, "inordinata, et insolita . . . sub cuius bulla nonnulla, ut fertur, præter ipsius conscientiam transierunt." Although all the German Annalists speak well of C., the *Annals of Austria, contin. Flor.*, ap. M. G. SS., ix, p. 750, repeat this charge. He did much "preter usitatum ordinem curie".

benefices or favours (*gratiæ*) had been granted to several persons, and also blank forms already sealed.¹ Baumgarten, however, after positing that no one has seen more documents of Celestine V. than he has,² declares that not a single one of them lends any kind of confirmation to Ptolemy's assertion.³ He further declares that Celestine's vice-chancellor was the Benedictine, John of Castrocœli, archbishop of Benevento, whom he made cardinal-priest of St. Vitale,⁴ and that the extant documents of this Pope prove the existence during his pontificate of a properly constituted chancery.⁵ Without in the least calling all this in question, there is no reason, nevertheless, to doubt the definite assertion of Ptolemy. Persons of the simple confiding nature of Celestine V. are easily persuaded to act in an arbitrary way, so that some of the documents may have been issued irregularly. Moreover, it may easily have been that many of the fraudulent documents were destroyed when Boniface annulled Celestine's concessions. These suppositions are all the more probable in that the man, John of Castrocœli, his vice-chancellor, who ought to have enlightened Celestine, was, according to Stefaneschi,⁶ a man of poor character, who kept the Pope in ignorance.

However all that may be, we have a number of Celestine's bulls and briefs that were preserved in the places to which they were sent. Potthast's list and synopsis of such documents was increased by that of B. Cantèra in his *S. Pier Celestino*, Napoli, 1892, p. 96 ff. In his *Regesto degli atti di P.C.V.*, he gives 94 documents, to which he adds nine others that are alluded to in

¹ *H.E.*, l. xxiv, c. 31. "*Inveniebantur gratiæ aliquæ factæ . . . pluribus personis, membranâ etiam vacuâ sed bullatâ.*"

² He avers that he has examined them at La Cava, Naples, Mte Cassino, Sulmona, Aquila, Rome, Florence, Vienna, Paris, London, and Oxford.

³ "Non c'è nessuna che potrebbe anche da lontano servire a provare tale accusa." P. 9. We presume it is to Ptolemy that B. refers; but he does not give a name to the author of the assertion.

⁴ He appears to have been made cardinal after Oct. 13, 1294, i.e., after the promotion of twelve cards. on Sept. 18, 1294. He died Feb. 22, 1295.

⁵ *L.c.*, p. 11.

⁶ "Haud radiat lucere datus." Cf. *Vita Celest.*, iii, cc. 2, and 10, ap. *R. I. SS.*, iii, pt. i, or pp. 59 and 69 in the new ed. of Seppelt, *Mon. Cælestiniana*.

later documents. To his collection six more can be added which have been preserved by John di Pontissara, bishop of Winchester († 1304), in his *Register*.¹ Celidonio, moreover, speaks of a *Codex diplomaticus S. Pietri C.* by Baumgarten and Sdralek.² It does not appear to have been published, but Celidonio himself has added a few more documents to those already mentioned.³

There is a document which would be of first-class importance for the early life of Celestine, if only it were authentic. It is his so-called *confessio* or brief autobiography, published by the Celestine abbot, C. Telera, along with eleven *Opuscula* also attributed to the Saint.⁴ This work of under twenty printed octavo pages was supposed to have been left by Peter Morrone in his cell at St. Onofrio, when he left it as Pope. All these documents were published by order of the abbot-general of the Celestine Order, Dom Francesco d'Aielli. They are, however, probably no more genuine than the bloodstained nail which the said general professed to have found in a wall. It was hoped to show that the Saint was both Doctor and Martyr. Speaking now only of the *confessio*, we note that the Rev. Dr. Celidonio, the learned local modern biographer of the Pope, thinks that it is at least interpolated, added to by later Celestines to glorify their founder. Hence he made practically no direct use of it.⁵ The Bollandists, no doubt correctly, go further, and, urging that Celestine knew too little Latin to have been able to write it, reject it as worthless, and assign it to a disciple more zealous than wise.⁶ The *Opuscula*

¹ Recently (1915-24) published by the York and Canterbury Soc. Cardinal Pitra regards as doubtful the authenticity of those letters that rest only on the authority of a French biographer of the Celestines, *De epp. RR. PP.*, p. 274.

² I, p. 12.

³ *Vita C. V.*, iii, p. 73, and so has E. Casti, p. 168 f., in the collection of papers in *Celestino V ed il VI. centenario della sua incoronazione*, Aquila, 1894. Hence Celidonio was able to reckon 156 documents in all. Cf. iii, 128, and iv, 93.

⁴ *Opuscula S. Petri Cælestini PP. V.* by C. T., Naples, 1640. Seven letters and a few prayers, all supposed to be written when he was a hermit, are also added. The "confessio" was also published by Papebrock in *Acta SS.*, t. iv. Maii, p. 421 ff.

⁵ *Vita di S. Pietro del Morrone*, Lib. i, pp. 31-47. On the non-authenticity of the *Opuscula*, *ib.*, Lib. iv, p. 151 ff.

⁶ Cf. *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. xviii, 1899, p. 35 f. They think it is possible that the *confessio* which is alluded to both by Stefaneschi

are doubtless no more genuine than the autobiography, and as, in any case, they do not contribute anything of a biographical nature, we may neglect them.

Most useful and authentic is the account written by two disciples of the Saint, and published for the first time by the Bollandists. There are two editions of this biography, one represented by a manuscript in the Vatican library which manifests a spirit of hostility to Boniface VIII., and the other by two MSS. at Paris, which are practically free from any bitter expressions against him. Even these two MSS. are not quite identical. The second, e.g., tells (n. 15a) of Peter's being made abbot of St. Maria in Faysolis in the province of Molise (Apulia), of the persecution he endured, and the miracles he performed there, and of his resignation of office.¹

Celidonio and the Bollandists are not agreed as to the priority of the Paris and Vatican MSS. With the latter, however, we believe that the Vatican version was written first, when the feelings of the Celestines were hot against Boniface, when they were thinking more of the supposed wrongs inflicted on their Founder than of the good of the Universal Church. This version, too, shows greater precision of detail, giving more names of persons and places,² and more frequently appeals to sources of evidence for what it states.³ The Paris editions were no doubt written after the death of Boniface (between 1303 and 1306) when time and reflection had cleared the judgment of the biographers. It is regarded as probable that the first part of this biography (the first eight chapters) was written by Bartholomew of Trasacco, who gave evidence for his canonization, and the second part by Thomas of Sulmona, prior of

and by the contemporary biography of the two disciples may contain something which the writer had heard from Celestine. For citing or publishing this *confessio*, the Bollandists only accuse Telera and the earlier L. Marino (*La vita ed i miracoli di S. Pietro di Morrone*, Milan, 1630) of excessive credulity, but not of fraud.

¹ The first Paris biography was published in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. ix, 1890, and the second in vol. x, 1891, giving the chapters wherein it differs from the first. The Vatican *life* is printed in vol. xvi (1897). See also *ib.*, vol. xviii, 1899, p. 34 ff. for further indications about these *lives*, and criticisms on the work of Celidonio which they justly highly praise, though showing some of its shortcomings owing to a somewhat confused style.

² Vol. xvi, p. 372.

³ Cf. *ib.*, p. 373.

St. Spirito di Morrone, who was much with Celestine, being with him even in his confinement on Monte Fumone. We shall quote this biography as *B.D.*

Another source of first-class importance for the *life*¹ of Celestine is the *Opus Metricum*² of James Gaetani "de Stephanescis", cardinal of St. George in Velabro, generally known as James Stefaneschi. It was put together at Avignon, and sent to the monks of the Celestine monastery of the Holy Spirit at Sulmona in 1319. It consists of 2,902 hexameters; is often confused and generally very inflated and obscure. Fortunately, it is preceded by a long prose introduction, written at Valence in 1316, and is accompanied by a number of glosses. The *Opus* is divided into three parts—I. The *life* of Cel. V.; II. The election and coronation of Boniface VIII. (finished in 1296); III. The canonization of Celestine V. (finished in 1316). With reference to the first part of Stefaneschi's *life* of Celestine V. where he relies on the spurious biography, the Bollandists³ call attention to the significant fact that in a Vatican codex (Lat. 4932) of the fifteenth century which gives the poem of Stefaneschi, that part, consisting of 140 verses, is replaced by the following five verses:—

"Est locus Aprutii, cui profert accola nomen
Molitium, patria huic humili sub plebe latenti.
Hunc fugiens petiit, fragilis dum labitur ætas,
Obsequium præstare Deo, sacrumque professus
Est habitum Cristo Benedicti dogmata spondens."

Evidently in the fifteenth century some had no faith in the *autobiography*, even so far as it was used by Stefaneschi.

Stefaneschi wrote from personal knowledge—as one "known", nay, "dear" to the pontiffs of whom he wrote. He was a grand-nephew of Nicholas III., and probably related to Boniface VIII.

¹ Giving "vitam, mores, regulas, electionem ad papatum, gesta in eo, renuntiationem, obitum, canonizationem, postremo quoque miracula sancti confessorisque mirifici fratris Petri de Murrone, quondam Celestini pape quinti, ordinis vestri". The letter of Stefaneschi to the monks of St. Spirito de Sulmone sending them his *Opus Metricum*, and prose introduction.

² It has been printed by the Bollandists, by Muratori, ap. *R. I. SS.*, iii, pt. i, p. 613 ff., and lastly by Dr. F. X. Seppelt, *Monumenta Cælestiniana*, Paderborn, 1921. We use this last ed. as more correct than Muratori's.

³ *Analecta Bol.*, vol. xviii (1899), p. 38.

who made him a cardinal in 1296. As a patron of art, his name is closely associated with that of Giotto, and, as an historian, even if he naturally looked with a favourable eye on Boniface, he has the great merit of truthfulness. Stefaneschi is also the author of poems, etc., on the Jubilee,¹ and other subjects; and besides sermons and letters, he also wrote a Roman *Ordo* or Ceremonial from which various historical details can be drawn.² This virtuous and learned man died at Avignon in 1343.

Other useful sources for the *life* of Celestine are the preliminary *Process for his Canonization*, drawn up by two bishops at the order of Pope Clement V., and also published by Seppelt (p. 211 ff.); the minutes of the last secret consistory preparatory to the canonization of C. V., published in the *Analecta Boll.*, vol. xvi (1897), p. 475 ff., and the bull of his canonization ap. Celidonio, iv, 74 ff.; Fontanini, *Codex Constitutionum*, p. 117 ff., etc.

Modern Works.—Of modern biographies that of Lelio Marini, *La vita ed i miracoli di S. Pietro di Morrone*, Milan, 1630, may possibly be of some use even as a *source*, as he professes to have used materials no longer extant; but, as we said above, he is too credulous. The biographies of Pierre d'Ailly (Paris, 1539), and Maffeo Vegio, though earlier, do not add to our knowledge, and Seppelt, who has published them both, would have done better to have republished the original *lives* printed in the *Analecta Boll.* Seppelt himself published useful *Studien zum Pontifikat Papst Coelestins V.*, Berlin, 1911.

The most important modern work on Celestine is certainly that of Canon G. Celidonio, *Vita di S. Pietro del Morrone*, in four books, each of which is unreasonably paged separately, Sulmona, 1896. It is, unfortunately, rather wanting in clearness, and is somewhat overloaded with perfervid reflections. The *S. Pier Celestino* of B. Cantèra, Naples, 1892, is, as we said before, also valuable, indeed in many ways more so than the work of Celidonio. The *Celestino V. ed il VI. centenario della sua incoronazione*,

¹ Ap. *Bibliotheca Patrum*, t. xxv, p. 936 ff., ed. Lyons.

² Published by Mabillon, *Museum Ital.*, t. ii, p. 241 ff., and numbered xiv by him. On the first ed. of this *Ordo*, cf. L. H. Labande, "Le cérémonial de J. Cajétan," ap. *Bib. de l'école des Chartes*, Jan., 1893, p. 45 ff. Stefaneschi gives us a brief autobiography on p. 6 f. One conceives a good opinion of the man from the grateful way in which he speaks of his father and mother, both of ancient noble stocks.

Aquila, 1894, contains sixteen papers relating to Celestine, by different writers. Of slighter value are such biographies as those by T. Bonanni, *S. Pietro C.*, Aquila, 1894, *S. Pierre Célestin*, by Dom Aurélien, Bar-le-Duc, 1873, etc.¹

A number of pamphlets have been written on "Il gran rifiuto" of Dante, e.g., G. Roselli, *Discolpa di Dante*, Pisa, 1896; *Note sur le grand refus*, by Jules Lanczy, Paris, 1901, etc. G. Ricciotti has written notes on *Fumone e Celestino V.*, Alatri, 1896.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

(See under Nicholas IV.)

EMPEROR IN THE WEST. Adolf of Nassau, 1292-8.²

¹ In a materialistic spirit, Dr. Hans Schulz treated of C. V. in his dissertation for his doctorate (*Peter von Murrhone, P. Coelestin V.*, Berlin, 1894), and continued his work in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Oct., 1894.

² Not one of the "Kings of the Romans" after Frederick II. till Henry VII. (1308-14) was strictly speaking Emperor.

CHAPTER I

LONG VACANCY OF THE HOLY SEE. ELECTION OF PETER DE MORRONE. HIS PREVIOUS CAREER.

The
cardinals
meet and
disperse.

AFTER the funeral of Pope Nicholas IV. the cardinals, twelve in number, met in the palace at St. Mary Major's. They were Latinus Malabranca, the virtuous cardinal-bishop of Ostia, Gerard the White, bishop of Sabina, John Boccamazza, bishop of Tusculum, Matthew Acquasparta, cardinal-priest of St. Lorenzo in Damaso, Hugh of Alvernia, cardinal-priest of St. Sabina, John Cholet of St. Cecilia, who died during the vacancy (1293), Peter Petrogrosso of St. Mark's, Benedict Gaetani (Boniface VIII.) of St. Martino, Matteo Rosso Orsini, of St. Maria in Portico, James Colonna, cardinal-deacon of St. Maria in Via Lata, Napoleon Orsini of St. Hadriano, Peter Colonna of St. Eustachio, nephew of cardinal James Colonna. Of these twelve, Latinus, Boccamazza, Matteo Rosso, James and Peter Colonna, and Napoleon Orsini were Romans, Hugh and Cholet were French, and the remaining four were from different parts of Italy.

Parties
among the
Cardinals.

Some of these cardinals were perhaps, as they are called by one of our historians,¹ "*carnals*," men who thought more of their own flesh (*caro*) and blood, of their own kith and kin, than of Christ and His Church.² So it may be said with Villani,³ that the Orsini party, headed by Matteo Rosso, were desirous of a Pope who would

¹ "Cardinales, qui potius dici poterant carnales, etc." Bart. of Cotton, p. 251, *R. S.*

² S. Antoninus says severely : "Quærentibus quæ sua, et non quæ Jesu Christi." *Chron.*, tit. xx, c. 7, p. 233.

³ *Chron.*, vii, c. 150, al. 151. Cf. S. Anton., *l.c.*, and *Mart. Pol. contin. Anglica*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxx, p. 717.

favour the Angevin dynasty of Sicily, and that the Colonna party, headed by Cardinal James Colonna, were anxious for a pontiff who would break with the French connection. It may be, too, that some of them were working merely for their own personal advantage.¹ There is ground for more than suspicion that the Colonna cardinals were actually in the pay of the Aragonese. From a letter of King James of Aragon to his brother Frederick in Sicily, it appears that a certain John Velletrani, purporting to be an agent of cardinals James and Peter "de Columpna", had presented himself before Frederick, and in their name had undertaken to do certain things for him in the future as they had done in the past, should they receive from him an annual grant of a thousand ounces (of gold) with an immediate payment of five hundred. Frederick had made the promise, and paid over the instalment to the agent. His brother, however, evidently was far from sure of the credibility of the agent. If, he wrote to Frederick, what John said was true, I approve of the payment, but if not I shall be vexed, and you will have been fooled, and will have lost your money.² This document must be taken in connection with others. Another from Barcelona tells of the Colonna cardinals asking Frederick for money to be able to resist the Orsini cardinals who are on the side of King Charles.³ The money, as we have just seen, was duly paid; but, as we learn from another similar document, the Colonnas did not draw it, as the unworthy transaction had transpired, and the other cardinals had come to

¹ *Menko. Chron. contin.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiii, 567. The chronicler says that after the death of Nicholas IV. most atrocious wars broke out all over Christendom, and while the Kings of France and England fought for power, "Romæ cardinales certabant pro papatu."

² Ep. of July 1, 1294, ap. Finke, *Acta Aragon.*, i, p. 18, n. 12.

³ This document belongs to the year 1294, after May 8. Ap. Finke, *Aus den Tagen B. VIII.*, p. xi, n. 2.

hear about it. Still, though the money was, for the moment, returned to Frederick, King James was asked to be ready to supply them with "men or money", should need for them arise.¹ These documents prove plainly enough that in their party spirit the Colonnas were traitors to the papal policy which, since the coming of Charles of Anjou, had invariably favoured him and his heirs.

Nevertheless, despite these intrigues on the part of some of the cardinals, it may be, on the other hand, that some of the others in this dreadful vacancy of two years three months and two days, genuinely found it hard to choose between the distinguished and experienced men of whom the Sacred College was at this time composed. In this connection a reflection of Mr. Sedgwick is much to the point. "One must remember," he says, "that the history of the Roman Curia is not merely a tale of wrangling ambitions and worldly policy . . . but, more often than not, underneath, deep in their hearts, though covered up by covetousness and self-seeking, lay the desire to do right, to make the Church fulfil her great mission."²

There would seem, moreover, to have been an idea at this time that the election had to be unanimous. At any rate, we find in the election encyclicals of the Popes at this period the fact of their unanimous election regularly stated. Any idea of the necessity of unanimity would of course increase the difficulty of finding a candidate.

Cardinal
Latinus
addresses the
Cardinals.

Whatever were the dominant motives which animated

¹ Doc. 11, ap. Finke, *Acta Aragon*, i, p. 15. "Quantum ad primum articulum respondit d. Petrus de Columpna : quod regraciabatur d. regi de pecunia sibi missa et promissionibus sibi factis. Et quod pecuniam sibi missam non recepit, set mandavit mercatoribus . . . quod eam remitterent d. Frederico. Pro tanto autem pecuniam non recepit quia negocium aliis cardinalibus fuerat publicatum."

² *Italy in the Thirteenth Century*, ii, p. 142, London, 1913.

the twelve cardinals who on this occasion met in the palace by St. Mary Major's, their duty was put before them by their dean, Latinus of Ostia. After prayers had been ordered for the election of a worthy successor of Nicholas, "who might preside in Christ's name and succeed Peter," the Sacred College was addressed by Latinus, a man, sings our poetical cardinal, "shining with virtue, and radiant with the titles of noble birth."¹ No one of sound mind, he said, would strive for the exalted dignity of the Papacy. But the cardinals must seek for a candidate who was firmly rooted in virtue. This was the more necessary as the days were evil. Acre and Tripoli have been lost. The savage Aragonese have possessed themselves of a realm which was bestowed on the Franks—a situation which is "a disgrace to them and to us who give kingdoms. On all sides, too, our subjects give us trouble."²

"The cold hearts," however, of the cardinals were not moved by this address, but, after spending ten days in the palace built by Nicholas IV., they adjourned to that on the Aventine, which Honorius IV. had erected.³ Here, says Stefaneschi, the divergence of the views of the cardinals became more and more manifest, as it was said that no candidate received even a third of the votes.⁴ It was to no purpose that the electors again changed their place of meeting, and assembled at another Dominican centre, that of St. Maria sopra Minerva. The feast of SS. Peter and Paul brought on them the heat of

¹ "Virtute coruscans

Et generis titulis radiatus."

Stefan., *Elect.*, i, 1. I may note that my study of the cardinal's obscure poem was simplified by having had access to a translation which had been prepared by the nephew of the late Mr. Oscar Browning.

² "Dedecus illis

Et nobis qui regna damus." *Ib.*

³ Stef. condemns this habit of building new palaces, and leaving those of the Vatican and Lateran.

⁴ *Ib.*

summer. Faction fights broke out in the city, and the Plague stalked through its narrow reeking streets. The French cardinal Cholet died (Aug. 2, 1291), and "by a grave innovation", the surviving cardinals dispersed. The six Romans remained in different parts of the city; Gaetani in fear of the Plague, because he was seriously ill,¹ betook himself to his native Anagni, and the remaining four went to Rieti "by the waters".² When the heat had, by the middle of September, somewhat abated, Gaetani and Matthew Aquasparta returned to the Minerva. They were gradually joined by the others; but the summer of 1293 still found them in disagreement. This time, with the exception of the two Colonnas, John Boccamazza and Gaetani, all the cardinals went to Rieti to escape the summer heat. Of the four exceptions, the first three remained in Rome, but "the Campanian went about his own affairs apart from the others".³

Danger of
schism.

Thereupon, the three cardinals who were together proposed that they should by themselves elect a Pope, on the grounds that they stood for the Sacred College because the majority of it was composed of Romans, like themselves, and that they were in Rome. There was evidently a rapidly increasing danger of a schism. Fortunately, for the present, however, the three declared that they preferred to discuss the situation with their brethren. Let them, therefore, hasten to Rome, "if they were desirous of putting an end to the tears of the Church."⁴

¹ Cf. the *Prosa*, p. 8. "Gravi, longa, cronicaque concussus infirmitate."

² Poem, i, c. 2: "Quattuor undatum lymphis placidumque Reate."

³ *Ib.*, c. 3. Benedict G. of Anagni was "the Campanian". From the *Prose*, *l.c.*, we learn that he went to Viterbo—perhaps for the medicinal waters near it.

⁴ *Ib.*, c. 5.

"Cupiunt si ponere finem
Ecclesie lacrimis."

On this, the cardinals at Rieti met to consider the legality of this summons. They were addressed by Matteo Rossi Orsini, whose sister, our poet is careful to remind us, was his mother.¹ He begged them, and the learned men they had summoned, to give their opinion clearly on the claims made by those cardinals who had elected to remain in the city so full of civil strife. After much discussion, it was resolved that, as the majority of the cardinals were in Rieti, it was for them to fix the time when the College should meet to elect the Pope. After some opposition on the part of the cardinal of Milan, who was attached to the Colonnas, it was finally decided that the cardinals should meet in Perugia on the Feast of St. Luke (Oct. 18, 1293).

To this ruling the Colonnas submitted, and all the cardinals, warmly welcomed by the people, assembled at Perugia by the appointed day.² There we may leave them still to continue for months discussing, quarrelling,³ intriguing, and voting, while we see what was meanwhile going on in Rome.

Whilst the cardinals were disputing, the citizens of Rome, without a ruler, were fighting in their streets, and cities of the papal states were warring against one another.⁴ As month after month sped by, and the Holy See still remained vacant, the state of things naturally

The
cardinals go
to Perugia.

Disorders in
Rome.

¹ Stefaneschi, *ib.*, here sings the praises of the Orsini family.

² See also *Annal. di Perugia*, ap. *Archivio stor. Ital.*, vol. xvi (1850), p. 58, and Ptolemy of Lucca, *H.E.*, l. xxiv, c. 27. On the welcome of the Perugians, see extracts from the municipal archives given by Canon Pietropaoli in his paper: "Il conclave di Perugia," ap. *Celestino V.*, p. 106 f. They also prayed God to bring them to unity "for their own good and that of the Christian religion".

³ Cf. Stef., i, c. 7, p. 31, for the way in which to the great discomfort of penitents some of them refused their consent to Aquasparta remaining Grand Penitentiary.

⁴ Stefan.: "Nos undique turbant Subjecti," p. 20. "Gemitus, heu ! nec non tristia bella Insurgunt populo." *Ib.*, i, c. 2, p. 22. Cf. *ib.*, c. 3.

went from bad to worse. Not only were foreigners robbed, but the very churches and religious houses were plundered.¹ The sound of the sacrilegious disturbances penetrated even to Iceland, and the author of the saga of bishop Lawrence of Holar, speaking of the year 1294, says (c. 7) that there was strife in Rome, and people were killed in St. Peter's. Indeed, according to the *Annals of Colmar*, one of the Orsini killed eleven pilgrims in the basilica about Easter of that year! In the midst of the troubles one Senator, Orso Orsini, died, and the other Senator, Agapitus Colonna, retired in fear (spring, 1293). For six months there was no senator at all.² Then in the month when the cardinals went to Perugia, two new Senators were elected, the aged but warlike Peter Stefaneschi, the father of our poetical historian, and Oldo of San Eustachio. But as they did not act together for long, no lasting peace followed their election.³

Fighting in
the
Patrimony.

While robbery, sacrilege, murder, and street fighting were the order of the day in Rome, many of the towns thought that a fine time had arrived to impose their will on their weaker neighbours by force of arms.⁴ Narni fell upon Castrum Strunconi, Orvieto seized Bolsena, and laid siege to Aquapendente.⁵ In dealing with some of

¹ *Chron. Parmense*, p. 63, ap. *R. I. SS.*, new ed.

² *Stef.*, *l.c.*, i, 3.

³ *Ib.*, c. 6. Cf. the introduction (prosa), p. 9.

⁴ "Tutumque putans hoc tempore bellis,
Lascivire palam."

Stef., *l.c.* Cf. Cantèra, p. 45, n. for notice of trouble between Ascoli and Fermo.

⁵ Stefaneschi, i, c. 4, and Bartholomew of Cotton, p. 251 f. Not infrequently our historians alone have preserved items of Roman news. As far, however, as Bolsena and Aquapendente are concerned, the *Annales Urbevetani*, pp. 163-4, have also spoken of them. Whilst Bartholomew wrote the siege of Aquapendente had not ended (*nondum expugnatur*), and we learn from the *Annals* just quoted that on July 18, 1294, the people of Orvieto made a truce with Bro. James Pocataglia, "who was in Aquapendente for the Roman Church."

these outbreaks the cardinals were successful. With the aid of troops sent by Charles Martel, Cardinal Matthew Aquasparta, for instance, succeeded in reducing Narni to order.¹ In other cases, however, they were not successful. Despite threats of excommunication and interdict, of a fine of twenty thousand, and of a loss of rights, the cardinals were incapable of restraining "the Seven" of Orvieto.² They, accordingly, resolved to raise "a great army", and called on the vassals of the Church to assemble in arms. For the most part, however, they would not move, but told the cardinals that, as soon as they elected a Pope, they would defend him and the Church too.³ Even this rebuff did not make the cardinals end their differences, but they tried to raise an army in Rome, and to put it under the command of Agapitus Colonna, Luke Savelli, and Berthold Orsini. Here, however, cardinal Napoleon Orsini stepped in. This arrangement of commanders, he said, would not do. There would be two Colonnas to one Orsini. Fortunately, however, the Roman people had more care for the Church than these despicable "family men". They, too, realized that, if an army was raised for the cardinals, they would not devote themselves to electing a Pope.⁴ They, therefore, as our chronicler notes, "resuming their ancient vigour", set the nobles at defiance, and in arms to the number of over seventy thousand horse and foot withdrew to the Aventine. They then took over the Capitol "where justice was administered", and sent envoys to Henry of Spain who had just escaped from the

¹ Stef., i, c. 4. "Regreditur (the cardinal) victor, populo comitante regressum."

² See one of their many letters to the Podestà and "the Seven", ap. Theiner, *Cod. Dip.*, i, n. 492.

³ Bart. of C., p. 251.

⁴ "Romanis perpendentibus quod si talia effectum haberent de papa minime curaretur, etc." *Ib.*

hands of King Charles, and had fled to Sicily to come to be their Senator.¹

Election of
Peter of
Morrone.

Understanding, at length, "that the Church had lost everything, that the Romans were getting out of hand, and that their own discomfiture and that of the Roman nobility was approaching," the cardinals at length gave their serious attention to electing a Pope. Unable or unwilling to choose one of their own number, they elected (July 5, 1294) the hermit Peter de Morrone, "a man of little literary culture, and of absolutely no knowledge of worldly affairs," but a man, so it is said, "of extraordinary sanctity."²

These interesting details, furnished us by Bartholomew of Cotton, which appear to have escaped the notice of previous biographers of Celestine, are naturally supplemented by Stefaneschi's writings. From him we learn other circumstances that preceded and influenced the election of Peter.

Charles II.
and his son
visit
Perugia,
1294.

In the early spring of 1294, i.e., in the month of March, Charles II. on his way from Provence to his kingdom, accompanied by his son Charles Martel, King of Hungary, who had come from Naples to meet him,³ approached Perugia. They were met by

¹ "Who," (Henry) says Bartholomew, evidently quoting some report he had received from a friend in Rome, "was, I believe, the brother of the Queen of England."

² B. of C., *l.c.* He adds that Peter was a member of a Benedictine congregation which he had himself founded, that the habit of his order was white, and that its members lived as good monks (*et bene cohabitantes fratres*).

³ See an order (Dec. 6, 1293) of Charles, "Vicar of the Kingdom of Sicily," for the purchase of what was necessary for his journey to the Roman Curia. Cf. *Syllabus Membran. Siciliæ*, ii, p. 134, n. 8. He was at San Germano on his way to meet his father, Feb. 15, 1294. Cf. C. M. Riccio, *Saggio di diplom.*, *Supplemento*, pt. i, p. 75, n. 62. N. 63 shows that Charles II. was in Naples March 8. But it would appear from a fuller series of extracts from the *Angevin Archives* given by Schipa, *Carlo Martello*, ap. *Archiv. Stor. Nap.*, xv, 1890, pp. 84-5, that Charles II. did not reach Naples till Apr. 13, 1294.

the cardinal-deacons, Napoleon Orsini and Peter Colonna, and a crowd of people, and were conducted in great state to the great hall where the cardinals awaited them. After receiving the kiss of peace from them, the King took his place between two cardinal-bishops, and his son, whose youth and handsome features are extolled by our poetical historian, between the cardinal-deacons. Then when a little time had been devoted to talk, the Kings were escorted to their lodging. But before continuing his journey, King Charles addressed the cardinals, and urged them to elect a Pope without further delay. To this speech, without giving any hint as to whether he thought it was inspired by pure zeal for the Church or by a wish to encourage his party, the mild cardinal Latinus returned a diplomatic answer.¹ But Gaetani, a man cast in a very different mould, gave him plainly to understand that the votes of the cardinals must be free, and that he had no right to put any kind of pressure on them. Hard words passed between them, but Charles made no further open effort to get his own way.² He left Perugia soon after, honourably accompanied by the cardinals to the gates of the city,³ and in the course of his journey to Naples visited the hermit Peter near Sulmona, and assigned to his monastery of the Holy Ghost an annual revenue of ten ounces of gold.⁴

After the departure of the King, months again went by, and there was still no Pope. One day (July 5), however, nine of the cardinals met together in a serious mood. They had just attended the funeral of a young brother

The hermit
Peter is
elected.

¹ Stef., i, 8.

² Cf. Ptolemy, *H.E.*, I. xxiv, c. 28, and *Annales*, p. 1300, "Regem . . . multum exasperasset"; and Platina, *in vit. Nic. IV.*, sub fin.

³ Stef., *l.c.*

⁴ See his grant, dated Sulmona Apr. 6, 1294, in Cantèra, p. 29. Cf. the foll. doc., *ib.*

of their colleague, Napoleon Orsini.¹ Grief had kept Napoleon away from the meeting, and gout the Milanese Pietrogrosso. With the thought of death in their minds, the rest listened with attention to cardinal Boccamazza, who appealed to them to dry the tears of their mother the Church, to put an end to the discord among themselves, and to elect a Pope. Seeing that his brethren were moved, Latinus declared that he had received a letter from a holy man telling him it had been revealed to him that God would punish them unless they elected a Pope forthwith.² Thereupon Gaetani asked with a smile if the holy man in question was the hermit Peter de Morrone. Finding that such was the case, the cardinals began to talk of the marvellous life of the hermit, and of the numerous miracles that were ascribed to him.³ Some even began to wonder whether he were not worthy of the Papacy.⁴ Then suddenly the virtuous cardinal Latinus, who had long loved Peter and had been a benefactor of his Order,⁵ cried out: "In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, I elect brother Peter de Morrone."⁶ At the moment all were thunderstruck, but almost immediately five cardinals voted with Latinus. The required two-thirds seemed in sight. Cardinal Napoleon was summoned in haste, and at once gave his vote also for the saintly hermit. Matteo Rosso, "whom long experience had made slow," then fell on his knees, and with tears in his eyes added

¹ The *Biog.* of the two disciples (which we shall call *B.D.*), c. 28. Unless there is a note to the contrary, it is to be taken for granted that there is no difference between the different versions in the passage cited.

² Cf. Stef., *III Op. M.*, iii, c. 17.

³ All this is from Stef., *Vit. C.*, ii, 1 and 2.

⁴ "Miraque gesta Extollunt alii, num quid sit dignus honore Papatus secum tractant, diversa loquuntur." *Ib.*, c. 2.

⁵ Ptol. of L., *H.E.*, xxiv, c. 30.

⁶ *B.D.*, c. 28.

his vote to those of the others, and the two Colonna cardinals who had left the conclave to consult the sick cardinal of Milan about the proposal of Latinus, soon returned with his assent and their own. By the unanimous vote of the Sacred College, Peter the monk, beloved by all the mountainous Abruzzi, had been elected to rule the Church of God.¹ "Nor was there any one," add the Saint's disciples, "who did not say that the election was satisfactory"—a thing which had never happened in any pontifical election before."

Whatever may have been the truth of that assertion, the first of the cardinal-deacons proclaimed to the people, whilst his brethren were singing the *Te Deum*, that Peter, the aged Hermit of Sulmona, was Pope. The excitement produced by the glad tidings that the long vacancy of the Holy See was over was but added to by the fact that the majority of the people were utterly ignorant of the identity of the elect. Who was he? was on the lips of everyone.² This query may now be answered.

Peter, afterwards known as "de Morrone", was born in the province of Molise in its present chief town, Isernia. The year of his birth seems to have been 1210 (or 1209). His parents, Mary and Angelerius, both virtuous, were poor and of humble station. They had twelve children,

Peter of
Isernia.

¹ Stef., and *B.D.*, *Il.cc.*, Ptolemy of Lucca, *ib.*, c. 29, and *Annales*, p. 1300; and especially the letter of C. V. himself to our K. Edward. Ep. Sept. 3, 1294, ap. Rymer, ii, 654. He tells how the Holy Ghost "subito et celeriter conjunxit" (the cardinals) "in unum; . . . in humilitatem nostram omnes unanimiter concordantes." See also Jas. de Voragine, *Chron. Jan.*, c. 9. By the election decree (cited by Celidonio, iii, p. 25) those who went to consult the sick Milanese cardinal were Boccamazza, Peter Colonna, and Hugh of S. Sabina. This is no doubt correct.

² "Fit strepitus, queruntque simul quis noverit illum," Stef., ii, 2. Peter was about 84 when he was elected. One of our historians, Florence of Worcester, *Chron. contin.*, p. 272, *R. S.*, says he was 100 at that time!

of whom Peter was the eleventh,¹ and they had always prayed that one at least of their children might be "a true servant of God".² To his mother's joy, for his father had died when Peter was very young indeed, her eleventh child soon began to show signs of his future sanctity. At the early age of five he was already fond of the Bible and holy books. His attachment to books, however, was not viewed with favour by his brothers. Besides their father, six of their brothers and sisters were already dead. The family was poor, and could not afford, they urged, to have one of its number brought up in idleness. Moreover, they reminded their mother that a rich man had taken a fancy to Peter, and had promised to make him his heir. But she, recalling to mind that the boy had been born with a caul, persevered in her determination to bring him up for the service of God, the more so that her husband had expressed the same wish before his death. The boy corresponded with her desires, and by the time he was twelve knew the Psalms by heart. But about this time his mother was much troubled by seeing him, still a beardless youth, feeding a flock of snow-white sheep. She recovered her serenity, however, when she reflected that it was a question of the flock of Christ.

Peter
becomes a
hermit.

Daily did Peter grow in goodness, so that his disciples assure us that, even in his youth, he was old in virtue.³

¹ Stef., ii, 7, and local authorities and traditions, ap. Celidonio, i, 73, and iv, 52. From *B.D.*, c. 47, we learn that Peter died in 1296 aged 86 (Vatican version says 87). He was, therefore, born in 1210 or 1209. From documents in the Angevin Archives of Naples, cited at length by Cantèra, p. 6, n., and 54, n., we learn not only the name of Celestine's father, but those of two of his brothers (Nicholas and Robert) and two of his nephews (William and Peter).

²

"Precibusque rogarent

Sepe Dei verum natorum crescere quemquam

Cultorem, etc." Stef., *l.c.*, All these details of Peter's early life are drawn by Stef. from the spurious autobiography.

³ *B.D.*, c. 8.

We learn, too, from Stefaneschi, who alone gives us these details of Peter's boyhood and youth,¹ that he felt drawn to a hermit's life. He was, however, deterred at first from carrying out his project, because, even at home, when alone he feared "the phantoms of the night". He did not realize that one might be a hermit in a cave and still have a companion. But when he was about twenty (*c.* 1230),² he persuaded a companion to leave home with him and seek the real "sweet things of life" in solitude. They agreed to go first to Mother Rome to get a sanction for their proposed mode of life. But after a day's journey, his companion returned home, and Peter had to go on alone. Hearing that there was a hermit near Castel del Sangro, he went to consult him. But enlightened from above, "from Olympus," as sings our poet with classical reminiscences, he left him,³ and, timid though he was, passed the night in the open. Comforted and encouraged by heavenly visions, he thenceforth lost all fear of darkness, and dug out for himself a cave beneath a great rock, but so small was it that, though he was not tall, he could not stand upright, nor lie down at full length within it. Here, clad in a rough tunic, he remained for three years, with no companions but snakes, toads, and lizards.⁴

Oft was the young hermit here tempted by evil spirits, and oft, too, did he receive "great and mellifluous graces". One of these later he thus lost. It was his wish to recite some of the canonical hours during the night, and ever was he able to fulfil his desire as a loud-

The bell and
the cock.

¹ But as drawn from the spurious autobiography they must be received with caution.

² This squares with the statement in *B.D.*, c. 46, that at the time of his death Peter de Morrone had led a life of sixty-five years of penance.

³ "Forte malus simulare bonum." Stef., *l.c.*

⁴ "Hic fuit, hic jacuit. Serpentibus atque lacertis
Hic locus est, rospi comites recubantibus adsunt." *Ib.*

resounding bell regularly roused him from his sleep. Ignorant of this, a brother hermit suggested that he should get a cock to rouse him. Peter agreed, but the cock that was given him crowed no more, nor was the sound of the great bell heard again.¹

He is
ordained
priest.

The fame of Peter's sanctity spread abroad, and the many who came to visit him urged him to get ordained priest. He accordingly went to Rome, and, returning to the Abruzzi a priest, took up his abode in a cave on Mount Morrone,² where now stands the Church of St. Spirito.

The chronology of the life of Peter previous to his election as Pope is obscure ; and it is not possible to say exactly in what year he was ordained or in what year he became a monk. With regard to the latter event, we know at least that it took place before the year 1251,³ and we know further that he was received into the Benedictine Order in the abbey of Our Lady of Faysolis (or in Faivolis).⁴ From the evidence of the octogenarian physician, Raynald Gentilis, the date of this reception can be pushed back beyond 1241, as the doctor testified that, when he was "about fifteen" (c. 1241), he saw and spoke to brother Peter, who was "clad in the garb of a monk".⁵ Finally, as Pope Celestine himself, when

1

"Sed protinus ille

Subticuit vocemque negat, cantumque recusat

Gallus."

Ib. This story is taken by Stefaneschi from the supposititious autobiography, c. i, n. 7.

² *Ib.*

³ The last witness whose testimony was taken in 1306 by the archbishop of Naples said that he (Leonard Carpentarius) was 80 years old, and that he had seen brother Peter, then a beardless young man, in the garb of a monk on Monte Morrone, fifty-five years before, i.e., in 1251, ap. Seppelt, p. 330.

⁴ *B.D.*, c. 15a. "Cujus (S. Maria in Fayfolis) abbas dederat sibi primo habitum sanctæ religionis."

⁵ See the twenty-three witnesses, ap. Sep., p. 232.

confirming "the Celestine congregation of the Benedictine Order", not only expresses his particular affection for that Order, but says that he made his vows in it in his early youth,¹ we may safely conclude that he became a monk before he became a hermit in 1230.

Finding that his solitude which he loved so much was too much disturbed on Monte Morrone, as it was comparatively near the town of Sulmona, Peter retired to the still more inaccessible range of the Majella. He was certainly there by the year 1256.²

Even here men followed him, and a number of them put themselves under his direction. The Celestine congregation was born.³ With some strict interpretations, the Saint placed his followers under the rule of St. Benedict which he had himself embraced⁴; for, say his biographers, it was the will of God that this rule, which many of its professors had trampled in the mud, should be revived by these His new servants.⁵

As the number of his disciples increased rapidly, brother Peter had to seek out suitable places in which they could live; and when they were established in their new homes, he used to visit them frequently, in order, we

¹ "In quo (the Benedictine Order) dum juventutis nostræ progressio ordiretur, professionis nostræ vota devovimus." Bull. of Sept. 27, 1294, ap. *Bullar. Rom.*, iv, p. 116 ff., ed. Turin. Ludovisi gives a different chronological scheme of Celestine's early life, p. 30 f., in the Centenary vol.

² Peter de Balduino, the eighty-third witness examined for our Saint's canonization in 1306, said that he had often visited him in his cell (carcer) among the hermits on Mt. Majella fifty years before. "Dixit quod jam sunt anni quinquaginta quod ipse testis vidit eum in heremis in monte videlicet de Majella, etc." Ap. Seppelt, p. 284. Cf. n. 49, p. 251 f., for the similar evidence of *Dompna Maria*. Cf. Stef., ii, 7.

³ "Misit (God) ad illum non paucam multitudinem fratrum." B.D., c. 9, Stef., *l.c.*, p. 52.

⁴ Stef., *l.c.*

⁵ B.D., c. 12.

Retires to
Mt. Majella.

The
beginning
of the
Celestine
congrega-
tion.

are told, to strengthen their weakness and to encourage them to bear their poverty by his words and example.¹

The
attraction of
Bro. Peter.

These, indeed, were the two things that had drawn them to him—the sight of his austere life, and the irresistible sweetness of his words and manner. Both his disciples and Stefaneschi tell us at length of his love of prayer, how he spent much of the night as well as of the day praying, how the devotion with which he said Mass inflamed the piety of the bystanders, and how he recited the Divine Office on his knees with the greatest fervour. His austerities well-nigh pass belief. He brought his body into subjection by hairshirts, knotted leathern girdles,² and even iron chains. When his exhausted frame could no longer stand or kneel he lay down on boards in a cramped position, with a stone or a block of wood for a pillow, and, in the bitter winter on an exposed mountain, with coverings utterly insufficient to keep out the cold.³ At no time did he eat more than was barely enough to support life. Often the bread that he ate was so stale and hard that it had to be broken with a hammer, and during the four or six “Lents” which, quite apart from everyone, he kept every year, he often ate only twice a week, and then took nothing but bread and water. Sometimes he even went without bread, and took but some raw vegetables and apples. On Sundays and festivals, he and his disciples partook

¹ *Ib.*, c. 10.

² See also the evidence of witness 111, ap. Seppelt, p. 308 ; of W. 162, p. 329.

³ *B.D.*, c. 6, where it is said that, owing to the freezing of his wet clothes to the walls of his cave, he remained immovable for twenty days. “*Qui hujusmodi tenacitate glacierum obsessus diebus viginti stetit immobilis.*” When after this he had been warmed back to life, he somewhat modified these austerities, as he heard a voice telling him not to put so heavy a load on “the little ass” of his body ; for, if he died in consequence, he would have to answer to God for the loss of his life.

of cooked vegetables flavoured with poor oil ; but, as far as he himself was concerned, he generally ate the vegetables without any kind of flavouring.

When not occupied in prayer, he was always engaged in reading or in some kind of manual work. He was never idle. If he was not engaged with visitors he was either reading the Bible or some pious book, or copying or binding books, or making or mending his own poor coarse clothing, or that of the brethren. He knew that idleness was the source of all evil.¹

Except during his "Lents" his time was very largely taken up in receiving people who came to see him from all parts. All sorts and conditions of men flocked to him. The fame of his goodness and sanctity, of his miraculous powers, and of his engaging manners² drew both men and women to him in the hope of getting health of body or consolation for their stricken spirits. Not only did kings³ and nobles come to consult him, but even the clergy⁴; and what is the greatest miracle of all, many men of evil life were converted as soon as they came in contact with him. In fact, we are assured that no matter how dissolute some of those who visited him might be, they all left him better men.⁵ As far as women were concerned, though he did not refuse to see them, still,

¹ "(Ut) tentationis interdiceret alimenta, liberalibus aut mechanicis sudabat in artibus, scribens scilicet, libros ligans, vestes attritas suas fratrūque resarciens aut suens." *B.D.*, c. 3. *Cf.* c. 7.

² Helped for a long time at least by his handsome appearance: "Hic . . . juvenili forma decorus." *Ib.*, c. 8. *Cf.* the eighth witness notes how people were affected: "solo aspectu faciei illius." *Ap. Sep.*, p. 211.

³ The Kings of Sicily and Hungary, Charles II. and Charles Martel.

⁴ *Cf.* witness 56, *ap. Sep.*, p. 258, and *B.D.*, c. 19, p. 408.

⁵ See witnesses 19, *ap. S.*, pp. 226-7; wit. 22, p. 231; and the testimony of Bartholomew of Trasacco, *ap. ib.*, pp. 333-4. *Cf. B.D.*, n. 5.

for the sake of greater recollection, he avoided meeting them as far as possible.¹

He had the greatest love and care for the poor, and, though none so poor as he, he was able to help them with money that was given to him,² and by the effect which his words had with the rich and powerful whom he ever urged to greater regard for the poor.

The
Celestine
Order.

As the poor got alms from Brother Peter, the sick health, the perplexed advice, and the sorrowful comfort, his time and attention were largely absorbed by the crowds that flocked to him for these blessings. But over and above these lesser worries, his ever-growing *congregation* gave him much more concern. From his first house of St. Maria del Morrone, and especially from his second of St. Spirito di Majella, his religious family began to spread steadily. Streams of monks, wrote Petrarch, flowed like its water-courses from the Majella over the plains beneath.³ The poet was astonished, and we must remember that he was born (1304) only eight years after the death of Celestine; he was astonished when he reflected how rapidly the Saint's *congregation* had spread over Italy.⁴ In the lifetime of its founder, brother Peter's Order counted thirty-six monasteries and six hundred monks.⁵

¹ See the sworn evidence of various witnesses, ap. S., pp. 226, 234, 334. One of these witnesses says bluntly (p. 234): "Frater Petrus visionem mulierum horrebat." Cf. witness 81, p. 282; w. 85, p. 285 f.; w. 105, p. 303 f. ² Cf. wit. 125, p. 320. Cf. p. 334.

³ *De vit. solitaria*, ii, sect. 3, c. 9, vol. i, p. 296, ed. Basle, 1554.

⁴ *Ib.*, ii, sect. 3, c. 18. "Et quam brevi spatio temporis per omnem Italiæ tractum, usque ad alpes quot ab eodem instituti ordinis conventus sacri!"

⁵ Before its final collapse in the turmoil at the beginning of the last century, it had spread into France and Belgium, and in Italy alone it had at one time 120 abbeys, priories, and monasteries, without reckoning oratories. Cf. G. Ettore's paper, "Sinopsi storica dell'ordine di C. V." in *Centen.*, p. 371 ff. For the numbers in Peter's lifetime, see *B.D.*, n. 26.

It must be confessed, however, that the Order of St. Damian,¹ or, as it was afterwards called, that of the Celestines, was not a great asset to the Church. William of Nangis calls Pope Celestine "the Father of a certain thin religion" and after the effect of brother Peter's personal example had worn off, the Order began to decay steadily. It has been pointed out that he made no definite regulation about the regular practice of mental prayer, nor about the reception of novices, nor about study. Hence, though the various houses were dependent on the abbot-general of the monastery of the Holy Ghost on Monte Morrone, they were independent of one another, and often small, unfit subjects were very frequently received, and at length profound ignorance even of the proper principles of the spiritual life became manifest among considerable numbers of the brethren of the Order. Despite the efforts of Blessed Robert Bellarmine, who became Protector of the Order in 1666, to reform it, disunion and corruption led to its suppression in France in 1766, and to its entire extinction in the course of the following few decades.²

The first Pope who was brought into contact with the new congregation was Urban IV. In accordance with a request which had been laid before him on behalf of "the Rector and Brothers of the Hermitage of the Holy Spirit on the Majella", he commissioned the Ordinary Nicholas, bishop of Chieti, to incorporate them with the Benedictine Order, without prejudice to the rights of any one, seeing that at present, he wrote, they are not subject to any Order whatsoever.³

The Popes in touch with the new Order.
(1) Urban IV., 1263.

¹ The Order "qui a plerisque dicitur S. Damiani sub regula S. Benedicti". B. Guidonis, *Vita*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, iii, pt. i, p. 669.

² See X. Le Bachelet, "Le B. Bellarmin et les Célestins de France," ap. *Rev. des Quest. Hist.*, 1926, p. 527 ff., from which this paragraph is mostly drawn.

³ Ep. June 1, 1263, ap. Potthast, 18551, and in full in Cantèra, p. 13.

(2) Clement
IV., 1368.

Five years later, Clement IV. addressed a letter to the faithful of the dioceses of Valva-Sulmona, Chieti, and Marsi. He told them of what he had heard of the hard life which "the Prior and brothers of the hermitage of the Majella" were leading in the remotest recesses of the mountains, in order, by the strictest poverty, to serve the poor Redeemer. Now, he added, the Prior and brothers of the hermitage of Mte. Morrone, subject to the hermitage on the Majella, have taken in hand to rebuild the Church of our Lady there. He accordingly exhorted the people to help them, and "by the authority of God and of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul which had been confided to him, he granted to all such as did so, and had, with due sorrow, confessed their sins, a relaxation of a hundred days of the penance which had been imposed upon them".¹

(3) Gregory
X., 1273-4.

But no matter into what well-nigh inaccessible places on the Majella the Saint retired, men followed him; and, whether he wished it or not, kept him in touch with the things of the world. Thus he learnt of the great council which Pope Gregory X. had summoned, and also of his intention to suppress a number of Orders that had been recently started. In fear for his own Order, Bro. Peter with two companions walked all the way to Lyons where the council was to be held. Like other men, Gregory fell under the charm of the simple monk; and, to Peter's great satisfaction, readily confirmed his adaptation of St. Benedict's rule.² Protected from robbers by snakes and by an angel in the guise of a beautiful horseman,³ the Saint and his companions returned in safety to his monks. All flocked "to look once more on his glorious

¹ Ep. of May 26, 1268, ap. N. F. Faraglia, *Codice diplomatico Sulmonese*, Lanciano, 1888, p. 73.

² *B.D.*, cc. 11-12: "Qui (God) in futurum providebat b. Benedicti regulam per istos novellos servulos relevare."

³ See also Stefan., iii, *Op. Met.*, iii, c. 16.

face", and to hear read the bull confirming their Order.¹

Soon after his return to the Majella, Peter was called to be abbot of the monastery of Sta. Maria in Faysolis in which he had received the Benedictine habit.² The monastery had fallen into complete decay. Its buildings and finances were ruined. But, not long after Capifer, archbishop of Benevento, had made it over to brother Peter, it began to revive, and, before he left it, its possessions had been recovered, over forty monks were in residence, and he had made accommodation for sixty. His biographer says that he went back to his solitude after being abbot for a year only,³ but from local episcopal letters addressed to Bro. Peter "de Murrone", "abbot of Sta. Maria in Faysulis" (1276-8), it would seem that he must have been abbot for part at least of two years.⁴ Peter was certainly speaking the truth when, as Pope, he said that the great wish of his heart had always been to keep churches from falling to pieces, and, if they had collapsed, to restore them to spiritual and temporal prosperity.⁵

Abbot of S.
Maria in
Faysolis,
1276-8.

After Peter had been abbot of Faysolis for two or three years "because he had always loved solitude" ⁶ he

Peter in
Rome, 1280.

¹ *Ib.*, c. 13: "Omnes fratres . . . concurrebant ad revidendam suam faciem gloriosam." Cf. Gregory's bull of March 22, 1275, ap. Potthast, n. 21006.

² *Ib.*, c. 15a. The monastery was in the province in which Peter had been born, "cujus abbas dederat sibi primo habitum sanctæ religionis."

³ *Ib.*

⁴ *Reg. Nich. IV.*, n. 4217 of Feb. 20, 1291, wherein letters of four local bishops are quoted. Two of them bearing dates 1276 and 1278 respectively, are addressed to Peter "de Murrone", abbot of S. M. de Faysulis.

⁵ See his letter of Oct. 20, 1294, ap. Faraglia, *Cod. Sulm.*, n. 92, p. 117. "Inter cetera desideria cordis nostri illud existit precipuum, ut ecclesias preservemus a collapsibus, et collapsas ad prospera, spiritualiter et temporaliter reducamus."

⁶ *B.D.*, c. 15a.

resigned the abbatial dignity, substituted one of his brothers in his place, and returned to live under the eyes of his Maker alone.

Roman
monasteries.

The affairs of his Order, however, soon called him forth again before the eyes of his fellow men ; and, from one of the witnesses in connection with his canonization, we learn that he was in Rome " in the month of August, at the time when the Lord Pope Nicholas died " (1280).¹ He had come to the Eternal City in order to found or visit two monasteries of his Order, one St. Pier in Montorio, and the other, St. Eusebio.²

Persecution.
(a) Episcopal.

Though in its strictest sense the saying that it takes two to make a quarrel is necessarily true, the implication in it that the two are both more or less to blame cannot be so readily admitted. It may be, of course, that, if one knew all the circumstances of every quarrel, the implication even might prove to be true. But, in such accounts as we have of many quarrels, it sometimes seems that only one party to the quarrel is to blame ; and certainly in the disputes in which Peter was engaged it would seem that he was not at fault.

When the rumour that Gregory X. intended to suppress newly-founded religious Orders took Peter to Lyons, a number of bishops who had monasteries of his Order in their dioceses promptly declared that it had been suppressed, and laid hands on its property. However, on his return with a papal bull of approval, the bishops " with very great shame " restored what they had seized, and most of them, moreover, ceased to worry the monks as they had done before. The bishop of Chieti, however, was an exception, and " so persecuted the servants of God " that, in preparation for moving out of his diocese, they sent elsewhere their bells which they had got from

¹ Witness 92, p. 447. Nich. III., † Aug. 22, 1280.

² Celidonio, ii, c. 8, p. 58 ff. ; 68 ff. Cf. witness 74.

Venice, their books and other property. When, however, he was taken ill, he expressed his sorrow to Bro. Peter for the treatment he had meted out to him and his monks, and by way of satisfaction, imitated an example that had been already set him, and exempted the monasteries of the new Order from episcopal jurisdiction.¹

Among others who, according to the two disciples, persecuted the monastery and brothers of Faysolis was a certain baron, Simon of St. Angelo. Originally the quarrel turned on a question of homage for property held by the Abbey. Simon maintained that Peter should have done homage to him for it, whereas, with good reason, as Charles I. had declared on appeal, the abbot had taken the oath to the Justiciar of the Terra di Lavoro. Abbot Peter therefore appealed to Charles, who, after praising the worthy life led by his devoted subject (*devotus noster*) Peter of Morrone, took him and his monastery under his special protection in order that he might be free from molestation and at liberty to give himself wholly to divine contemplation. The royal officials were therefore ordered to protect the brethren who in security would be able to pray for him.²

But, as was often the case in those days, the local baron was more powerful than the distant King, and Simon continued to harass the monastery. Unwilling to remain in the midst of strife, Peter first of all handed over the care of the abbey to another (Bro. Philip), and then, as his substitute was equally unable to get effective aid against Simon, he ordered his monks to leave Faysolis, and to betake themselves to the ruined abbey of St. John

¹ Nicholas IV. in taking S. Spiritus de Majella "in proprietam Ap. Sedis" confirmed the exemptions of Nicholas of Chieti, etc. *Reg.*, n. 4217 of Feb. 20, 1291. *Cf. B.D.*, c. 14.

² Ap. C. M. Riccio, *Il regno di Carlo I. d'Angio*, an. 1278, Sept. 27; but more documents from the Angevin Registers, ap. Cantèra, *l.c.*, p. 23 f.

Third Order. in Piano (Apulia) which had been offered to him. While the people, we are told, who had profited spiritually and temporally by the monks declared that they were abandoned by God when the monks left them, Simon was delighted. But his joy was short-lived, for death in turn soon after robbed him of his life and of his ill-gotten goods.¹

Bro. Peter must also have been kept much occupied with a Fraternity or sort of "Third Order" which he established. This he founded for those who could not take the religious habit, but desired to be connected with his Order. Its members had to say every day a certain number of Our Fathers "for the living and for the dead", to keep from grievous sin, to give alms, to love each other, looking after one another in sickness, helping their poorer brethren, and practising the works of mercy as far as they could. This society rapidly spread everywhere, and in some places soon counted a thousand members.²

Returns to
Monte
Morrone.

To avoid the society of men in order that he might the better devote himself to communing with his Maker, Bro. Peter had retired from one place to another seeking out retreats where he could not be disturbed. From Morrone he had retired to the Majella, for on that range he had gone from one remote spot to another. From the mountain by Castel del Sangro where he made his first attempt to lead the life of a hermit, he had gone to Monte Palleno, and then Monte Morrone, whence he took his name. From the last-named mountain, he had retired to the more remote Majella, and in its wild recesses or on its slopes he had betaken himself to Faysolis, to

¹ So say the two disciples, *B.D.*, cc. 15*b-d*, and they add that, "dicitur," he died under sentence of excommunication for his treatment of their monastery. Peter soon restored the monastery of St. John in Piano, *ib.* Cf. docs. in Cantèra, *l.c.*

² *B.D.*, c. 26.

St. Giovanni in Piano, to St. Bartolomeo de Legio, and to Orfente. But though he had a more or less permanent residence at one or other of these places on the Majella, he had often to leave them in order to visit the forty monasteries or houses he had established in Rome and elsewhere.¹ Finding, however, that the people would come to him, winter or summer,² wherever he went, he decided to return to Monte Morrone, in order, says his biographer, that they might have more easy access to him. He caused a cell (St. Onofrio) to be built by a cave on an old fort (castrum) called Segezanum, two miles from Sulmona, and half a mile from the monastery of the Holy Ghost. When he came to this new abode, he was received, we are told, "like Christ come down from heaven," by the whole countryside (June, 1293). Here he remained for thirteen months, till the day he left it as Pope (July, 1294).³

¹ Celid., ii, 58 ff.

² One witness (n. 128, p. 324) said that he, with other men from Sulmona, had often in the winter time cleared away the deep snow from the road so that the people could get to the Saint.

³ *B.D.*, cc. 23-5. *Cf.* Cel., ii, 88, 108 ff.

CHAPTER II

HIS ELECTION ANNOUNCED TO BRO. PETER. HIS CON-
SECRATION AND CORONATION. GOES TO NAPLES.
HIS PONTIFICAL ACTS.

The
cardinals
send envoys
to Bro.
Peter.

WHEN Brother Peter de Morrone had been duly elected Pope, the formal election decree was at once drawn up and signed by all the cardinals (July 5, 1294).¹ But, no sooner was this done, and the excitement of the extraordinary moment had passed away, than the cardinals began to regret their impulsiveness.² This they showed, according to Stefaneschi, by sending to the Pope-elect, with their decree and a letter asking his consent to their election, not one of their own number, but three bishops and two notaries. From the letter which was dated July 11, and signed by all the cardinals, we learn that its bearers were Berald de Got, archbishop of Lyons, the bishops of Orvieto and Patti, and the two apostolic notaries. It was addressed "To the most holy Father, and reverend Lord, Brother Peter of Morrone, of the Order of St. Benedict, by Divine Providence, bishop-elect of Rome and supreme Pontiff". The cardinals, all of whom signed the letter, after saying that they kissed the feet of the Pope-elect, told him how God had moved them to elect him, and they entreated him, in view of the needs of the Roman Church, and of all the flock of Christ, to consent to their election of him.³

¹ Given in full, ap. Raynaldus, *Annal.*, 1294, n. 6; Cantèra, p. 39, etc. It states that he was elected "nullo prorsus discordante".

² "Nam linquere dulcem

Incipiunt pacem proceres, monstrantque dolere
Hunc legisse virum."

Stef., *Op. Met.*, ii, c. 3.

³ Document in Raynaldus, *l.c.*, n. 7, and Cantèra, p. 41 f.

From Perugia the delegates of the cardinals made their way by Spoleto and Terni to Rieti. There, by the pass of the Velino, they entered what our poet calls the "jaws of the mountains",¹ and made their way over difficult paths to Aquila. Thence down the valley of the Pescara they went to Popoli and on to Sulmona.² After their wearisome journey of some one hundred and fifty miles which must have taken them about five or six days, the envoys must, with great satisfaction, have looked up from the road to the cell in which dwelt the hermit they had come to hail as Pope.

News of the wondrous event had, of course, already reached the whole neighbourhood, and Brother Peter himself. Everyone, say his disciples, was filled with joy at the news, except the hermit. He was in despair, and could not rid himself of his distress day or night. He called together his brethren, and told them that he could never accept the dignity. They, however, declared that schism would follow if he did not. "This selection," they argued, "has been brought about not by you, but by God. If you refuse to accept it, you are going against the will of God." "But who am I," he rejoined, "to take up such a burden and such power? I, who have not strength enough to save myself, how am I to save the whole world?"

He accordingly resolved to fly with a single companion, and we learn from Petrarch that he selected to accompany him a young monk called Robert de Sala. But the people of the district, knowing his humility and fearing he would attempt flight, watched him day and night. He could do nothing but await the course of events,

¹ "Cumque super strictas fauces montanaque claustra Transissent, etc. Stef., *l.c.*

² "Populique domus, ubi pinguior amnis
Ingreditur gelidas vallis Sulmonis in undas." *Ib.*

dreading on the one hand to act against the will of God, and on the other to be unable to benefit the Church.¹

Kings of
Naples and
Hungary
hurry to
Sulmona.

Meanwhile, too, other important personages besides the envoys of the cardinals were hurrying to Sulmona. As soon as Charles II. heard that a subject of his, one already bound to him by ties of gratitude, had been elected Pope, he named one of his sons, Philip, Prince of Taranto, Vicar of the kingdom, and, with his eldest son, Charles Martel, hastened to the Abruzzi in order to put immediate pressure on the new Pope.²

Envoys and
Kings go to
Peter.

Meeting in Sulmona, the Kings and the cardinals' envoys together made their way up the steep slopes of Monte Morrone to Peter's cell. The mountain rises to the height of some six thousand feet, and well over a thousand feet up its seared and stern looking face, whose wrinkled brow bears even to the end of May³ the remains of the winter's snows, brother Peter had found in the soft rock a cave close by a well of water. Hard by he had caused a little cell of stone to be built on a narrow ledge of rock on one side of which was a steep precipice. Here, where in the summer no sound is heard but the scream of the hawk, and in the winter none but the howl of the wolf, he had already lived for more than a year, when he was called to his iron-grated window to receive kings and bishops.

Whilst, with the sweat pouring from them, the kings

¹ *B.D.*, c. 28. "Timebat enim Dei voluntati contraire, timebatque, si reciperet, quod non prodesset Ecclesiæ Dei, sicut omnes credebant." Cf. Petrarch, *De vita solit.*, ii, sect. iii, c. 18, who has much to say in Robert's praise. Telera, in his *life* of R. di Salla, says that when Celestine afterwards begged him to accompany him as Pope, he replied that he was ready to follow the footsteps of Peter of Morrone, but not those of Celestine V. *Historie de Celestini*, p. 219, Bologna, 1648.

² See the Angevin Registers, n. 60 (1292 C.), ff. 208, 242; and n. 66 (1294 C.), ff. 23 a tergo, 66 a tergo, etc.; and n. 185 (1309 B.), f. 26, cited by Cantèra, pp. 42-3.

³ When I visited it in 1923.

and envoys were toiling up the narrow track which led to the hermit's cell,¹ they were joined by cardinal Peter Colonna. He had come, says Stefaneschi, quite on his own account, merely to curry favour.²

It is not difficult to imagine the curiosity with which Colonna and the delegates peered through the window of the little cell to see what sort of a man was the new Pope, or their wonder at what they saw. Behind the bars stood a man evidently of very great age, seemingly dazed at the sight of the dignified throng before him, and by the knowledge of the errand on which they had come. Bearded was he, and pale, with cheeks and limbs emaciated by long fasts, and with the lids of his dark eyes swollen with much weeping. Yet with all this, and with his stiff coarse garments, he was venerable withal; for his form and features, dress and dwelling, all bespoke the Saint.³

Uncovering their heads, all present bent their knees before the pious recluse, while he in turn bowed down to the earth before his visitors. Then the archbishop of Lyons told him that he had been unanimously elected

Brother
Peter
accepts the
papacy.

¹ Stef., *Vita.*, ii, c. 4. "Fusa per artus Unda fuit gravitate vie."

² One MS. of Stef. has a more severe verse about him than the others. It runs: "Sed gravi cupiens proprio captare favorem." The same version adds what is very unlikely, and that is that brother Peter was at first disposed not to receive the forward cardinal.

³ Such is the description of the Saint as given us by Stefaneschi, who saw him. Other descriptions given us by some modern writers have no other foundation than that of their imaginations.

"Grandevum videre senem . . .

Attonitum tantave super novitate morantem,

Hirsutum barba, mestum pallore figura

Atque genis maciem jejunaque membra ferentem,

Sed tumidum lacrimis oculi velamina nigri

Palpebras, rigidum toga, vultuque verendum.

Nam domus et facies, habitus gestusque beatum

Demonstrant."

Stef., *Vita.*, ii, c. 5.

Pope, handed him the decree of election, and implored him to undertake the ruling of the Church. After cardinal Colonna had added a few words of his own,¹ brother Peter, receiving the election decree, begged the delegates to add their prayers to his that God would enlighten him as to what reply he should make. For a time he prayed prostrate on the ground, and then quietly told his hearers that he bowed to the wishes of the Sacred College and accepted the dignity of the Papacy. For the sake of his own peace of mind, he concluded, he would not allow the Church of Rome to suffer further wrongs.²

Straightway the assembled company hailed him as Pope, kissed the hairy buskins (*chiffonibus vilosis*)³ which encased his feet, and received in turn the kiss of peace. Meanwhile the mountain was alive with people swarming up its steep sides to gaze on the new Pope. Toiling up the steep slopes under the blazing July sun might be seen bishops and clergy, nobles and peasants, including our poet himself, "with perspiration pouring from his face and every limb." Among those who then "adored" the new Pope were the King of Naples and his son, Charles Martel, whom Stefaneschi describes as bright of face, with curly golden hair, and with the velvety down of youth on his smooth white cheeks.⁴

The new Pope goes to Aquila and corresponds with the cardinals.

To be more accessible to the crowds who flocked to see him, the new Pope left his cell, and came down the mountain to the monastery of the Holy Ghost, which he

¹ *Ib.* In his brief commentary on his own poem, Stefaneschi adds that cardinal Peter spoke simply on his own account, "quia a se, non ex parte Collegii loquebatur."

² *Ib.*, c. 6. Even Gregorovius, *Rome*, v, pt. ii, p. 520 f., is disposed to admire "the courageous acceptance of the Saint", and to believe it *probable* that he acted from "a sense of duty".

³ *Ib.* Such as may still at times be seen covering the feet and legs of an Italian peasant.

⁴ *Ib.* Cf. also *B.D.*, cc. 28-9. "Reges Siciliæ et Ungariæ . . . electum . . . depositis coronis regalibus, adoraverunt."

had himself rebuilt.¹ There he remained a few days, and then prepared to leave it, in order to be consecrated and crowned. To judge from the narrative of his disciples, he had naturally thought of going to Rome to be enthroned.² But that was not to the mind of Charles II., and perhaps it is not to be wondered at that the mind of the King should impress itself on that of the new Pope. If brother Peter was never "the keeper of the King's conscience",³ he was very friendly with him,⁴ and must have been very well disposed towards him for what, certainly up to this, had been his disinterested kindness to him, and interest in his Order. At any rate, Stefaneschi assures us, and subsequent events seem clearly to prove that, in his utter ignorance of the ways of the world and of affairs of state, he put himself completely in the hands of King Charles and his lay lawyers.⁵ The members of his Order, too, did the same, as they feared that, if power again came into the hands of the College of Cardinals, they would suppress them. Accordingly, both the King and the monks persuaded the Pope that at his age he could not in the summer journey to Rome or Perugia, and that he should be consecrated at Aquila instead. A letter, therefore, to that effect was dispatched to the cardinals.⁶

Without waiting for the cardinals' reply to his letter, the Pope decided to go to Aquila. King Charles,

¹ *Ib.*

² "Ibi (in the monastery) aliquot peractis diebus, arripuit iter, ut Romam pergeret . . . mantum apostolicum suscepturus." C. 29.

³ Geoffroy de Courlon, *Chron.*, p. 580, tells us that it was *said* that bro. P. "suam (the King's) conscienciam audiebat."

⁴ *Ib.*

⁵ *Vita.*, iii, c. 1.

"(Ex) quo factum est, ut sibi magni
Crederet hic laicos, quos juris in arte peritos
Prudentesve ratus."

⁶ *Ib.*

accordingly, sent word to the Justiciar of the Abruzzi that the Pope and he were about to proceed to that city, and that, therefore, especially in view of the fact that people would crowd to it from every quarter to see the new Pope, he must look to it that there was an abundant supply of the necessities of life.¹

Despite the protests of the two kings and the great ones in the Church and State "who take delight in fine horses", the Pope insisted on riding on an ass. Some regarded such an act as derogatory to the Papacy, and even Stefaneschi thought it would have been better had he, in humble spirit, ridden a horse, though at the same time he believed that a profitable example had been thereby given to some of the clergy.²

At any rate, the Pope had his own way, and left Sulmona on the 25th or 26th of July. Passing by Popoli, he entered Aquila on the 27th, with a King on each side of him leading his ass, and accompanied by three cardinals, "counts, barons, and a countless number of people."³

The
cardinals beg
the Pope to
come to
Perugia or to
papal
territory.

A reply to his letter now reached him from the cardinals at Perugia. They had already sent a letter which crossed that of the Pope. In it they had begged him to come to them, as it would furnish a bad precedent if a Pope

¹ See his *Reg.*, 1294, M. fol. 232 t., ap. M. Riccio, *Studii sopra 84 Reg. Ang.*, p. 47, Naples, 1876. See other similar mandates of July 22-5, ap. Cantèra, p. 45.

² *B.D.*, c. 29; Stef., *Vita*, iii, c. 2, and commentary, p. 59.

³ *B.D.*, and Stef., *U.cc.*, and documents in Cantèra, p. 46, for the dates. The disciples speak of the cardinals, "qui prævenerant alios," and from Stefaneschi we learn that two others, the Dominican Hugh Seguin and Napoleon Orsini, had imitated the example of Peter and come: "Non missos gravitate patrum sed sponte ruentes" (iii, c. 4). Ptolemy of Lucca, however, in place of Orsini, gives the other Colonna, James (*Annales*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, xi, p. 1300). Ptolemy is probably correct. It was perhaps this conduct of the two Colonnas that helped to turn Gaetani (Boniface VIII.) against them.

were consecrated at a distance from the cardinals. Then there were the expenses and inconveniences of a summer journey and places unsuitable for their residence to be considered, besides other powerful reasons which they thought advisable not to specify. When, however, the Pope's letter reached them, they realized that they would have to speak plainly. In their answer, therefore, to his letter, they pointed out that it was not desirable for the Roman Curia to go into the kingdom of Naples. Pope Martin IV. had refused to go to help King Charles I. when the Aragonese had seized Sicily. Then, when they had repeated their previous arguments about expense and trouble for so many of them to go to Aquila, they pointed out that he could come to them by slow stages in a closed litter, and begged him not to give ear to men who were working simply for their own ends.¹ Further, the bishop of Orvieto, in the name of the cardinals, begged the Pope to come at least into papal territory if the journey to Perugia was too much for him. Finally, as a last resort, the cardinals even besought the King, by all that he and his father owed to the Holy See, to support their petition.

Deceived, however, by those around him in whom he placed his trust, the simple Pope would not listen to the cardinals' reasons, but renewed his declaration that he would be crowned at Aquila, and requested the cardinals to send him the papal insignia.² Meanwhile, too, the new Pope showed his simplicity still further by appointing, contrary to custom, a lay notary, and one, moreover, attached to the chancellery of Charles II. This was Bartholomew of Capua,³ whose name figures so frequently in the Angevin archives as Counsellor

The new Pope makes unfortunate appointments.

¹ Stef., *Vita*, iii, c. iii.

“Suberunt que scripsimus olim

Exemplum, mores, grave damnum murmur egestas.”

² *Ib.*, c. 4-5.

³ *Ib.*, c. 2.

and Protonotary of the Kingdom of Sicily.¹ Charles might well, after stating that Bartholomew had been made a papal notary, add that he would be as useful—even more useful—to him in the future than he had been in the past.² Moreover, in naming the archbishop of Benevento, John of Castroccœli, a mere worldling, his vice-chancellor, the confiding Pontiff made perhaps a still greater mistake.³

Death of
cardinal
Latinus.

At this juncture died Latinus, the worthy cardinal of Ostia, who had been mainly instrumental in bringing about the election of brother Peter. He was spared the sight of the troubles which directly and indirectly it brought on the Church. As it was the bishop of Ostia who had to take the most important part in the instalment of a Pope, Peter ordered the archbishop of Benevento to consecrate the Dominican Hugh, one of the three cardinals who had already come to him, as bishop in place of Latinus.⁴

Peter takes
the name of
Celestine.

As soon as the red mantle and the other papal insignia reached Aquila, they were conferred by cardinal Orsini on the new Pope, who thereupon took the name of Celestine. Clad now in all the state that became his high office, he received the solemn homage of bishops and clergy, kings and nobles, and imparted over and over again his solemn benediction to the assembled people.⁵

¹ E.g., M. Riccio, *Della dominazione Angioina*, p. 36.

² Naples, *Archivio di Stato*, *Angio. Reg.*, 68, f. 117, cited by Seppelt in his notes to this passage of Stefaneschi.

³ Stef., *l.c.*,

⁴ *Ib.*, c. 5. Cf. Ptolemy of L., *H.E.*, xxiv, c. 30.

⁵ Stef., *l.c.*, iii, 5.

“ Subjecta pedum dant oscula proni

Pontifices, reges, clerus, comites proceresque.”

Cf. Ptolemy, *l.c.*, c. 31, who tells he was present and saw how the shouts of the people for his blessing brought the Pope to the window over and over again.

Realizing at last that their well-founded objections to the Pope's being consecrated outside his own realm had made no impression on the untutored mind of Celestine, the cardinals made a virtue of necessity and came as they feared "into the great dangers" of Aquila.¹ The last to arrive was cardinal Gaetani. He had at first hesitated to come, as he knew that his free speech at Perugia had offended King Charles. By his address, however, he soon, at least, pacified the King, and gained that outstanding position in the Curia which had been previously held by the three cardinals who had first come to Celestine. They had become "lords of the Curia" (*domini curiæ*); but when Gaetani came, it was he who was promptly looked up to "as the lord of the Curia".²

The cardinals come to Aquila, and Celestine is consecrated, Aug., 1294.

In the course of the eighties of this thirteenth century, brother Peter had entirely rebuilt the Church of our Lady of Collemaggio about half a mile from the city of Aquila.³ This great church, whence one sees to the north the Gran Sasso d'Italia with its two peaks, and to the East Monte Morrone with the Majella behind it, though much damaged by earthquakes, still presents a noble appearance. Especially is this the case when the sun illumines the rich red and yellow stone of which its façade is composed, and throws up into relief its dainty twisted columns and the delicately carved foliage with which they are adorned.

In and around this Church on the Feast of the beheading of St. John the Baptist (Aug. 29) in the year 1294 stood some two hundred thousand people of whom Ptolemy of

¹ *Ib.*, c. 6.

² Cf. Ptolemy, *l.c.*, and his *Annales*, p. 1300. In the first passage we read: "Venit (Benedict Gaetani) ultimò, et sic scivit deducere sua negotia quod factus est quasi Dominus Curiae."

³ See the rescript of bp. Nicholas (Oct. 6, 1287) exempting the new church, then near completion, from episcopal jurisdiction. *Ap. Reg. Nicholas IV.*, n. 4217, or *ap. Muratori, Antiq. Ital.*, vi, p. 943 n. Cf. Celidonio, ii, pp. 74 and 84 f.

Lucca was one.¹ They had come from every hill town to this solitary little plateau to see their well-beloved saint and countryman raised to the highest throne on earth. It was, says Stefaneschi, the new bishop, Hugh of Ostia, who poured upon the head of the Saint the oil of episcopal consecration, and the first of the deacons, Matteo Rosso, who bestowed on him the pallium of white wool, and placed the glittering crown upon his head. After the ceremony in the Church, Celestine mounted a platform which had been erected outside it from which he could give his blessing to the expectant thousands. Thence, this time on a white horse, he returned amidst the joyous acclamations of the multitude to the city, in order to hold the traditional banquet.²

Celestine continues to lead his simple life.

As Celestine in his new surroundings continued, as far as possible, to lead his old style of life,³ we may be sure that banquets were not to his liking. A contemporary poet, Francesco da Baberino, a man in his day (1264-1348) well known in royal courts, lets us know of what magnificence were Celestine's ordinary banquets. He tells us that he saw him walking about in his room munching a piece of dry bread whilst a monk from a little pitcher of wine gave him to drink. And he heard him say, as his mother had been wont to tell him, that

¹ *H.E.*, xxiv, 29. "Et ego interfui."

² *Stef.*, *l.c.*, c. 6. He adds that he had described this coronation ceremony but briefly, because he intended to describe that "of his holy successor" at length, not to gain any kind of favour, but because a coronation in Rome was naturally a more splendid affair. We have seen that he carried out his intention. Cf. Celestine's ep. of Sept. 29, ap. Raynaldus, *Ann.*, 1294, n. 13, and the Angevin Archives (e.g., Reg. 1345-6 D. fol. 160, ap. *Notizie storiche* of M. Riccio, p. 22) for notices of an annual grant of money to the Church of St. Maria "because Pope C. was crowned there", or, ap. *ib.*, p. 48, "out of reverence for Blessed Peter of Majella whose body is buried there." Other references in Cantèra, p. 50, n.

³ *B.D.*, cc. 29, 34.

eating and drinking in that manner was the most enjoyable (sapidus) way in the world to eat and drink.

He was also wont to say to his monks: But for you I would not be Pope. Asked why, he replied: It is a greater annoyance to me to command than it was a pleasure to do everything for myself.¹

A few days after his consecration, Celestine announced his election to the Catholic world, writing among others to our King Edward. After emphatically calling attention to the inscrutable ways of God, and to the unfortunate delay in the election of a successor to Nicholas IV., he told how the cardinals were suddenly moved to elect him. Although he knew that the burden that had been put upon him was far too heavy for his weak shoulders, especially as for a very great length of time (*longissimis temporibus*) he had been leading the life of a hermit, he had accepted it, as he knew that a longer vacancy of the Holy See would be most detrimental to the Church, and as he feared to resist the call of God. He trusted that the Almighty would help his inexperience. Meanwhile he urged Edward to reign with justice, and to work for the peace of his people and of surrounding nations, promising him that he would do all he could to promote his interests.²

Among the many letters of congratulation which the new Pope received one has come down to us. It was

Announces
his election.

Letter of
congratulation
from the
archbp. of
York.

¹ Cf. A. Thomas, *F. da B. et la littérature Provençale en Italie*, p. 181 f., Paris, 1883. Cf. p. 14. The quotation is from F. da B's *Document Amoris*, fo. 26b. F. da B. does not actually give the Pope's name, but it is clear to whom he refers. He tells us, further, that he came from a humble station in life (*vilis status*) and that he had neither been in the household of any distinguished person, nor had ever himself been waited on. He tells also of others as uncultivated as himself (*rudes*) who served him in their own rough manner.

² Ep. of Sept. 3, 1294, ap. Rymer, ii, p. 654. Cf. Potthast, nn. 23958, and 23969, to the archbishop of Ravenna, the Duke of Austria, etc.

sent by Romanus, archbishop of York, a man who had been in favour with five Popes from Innocent IV. to Nicholas IV. Addressing his father and lord in Christ, subscribing himself the Pope's lowly servant, and professing his complete subjection to him,¹ he told him how the Church at large was rejoicing at the close of the long vacancy of the chief See, and how much that joy was shared by the Church of York, directly dependent as it was on the Roman Church.² Praying God to grant the Pope a long and happy life, he begged him to give a favourable reception to his proctors.

Injudicious
acts of the
new Pope.

Unfortunately, as a rule, neither one's own prayers nor those of others will make up for want of training, and Celestine had had no manner of education for the post he was called upon to fill. Despite anything that could be done by Gaetani and the more serious and conscientious of his official advisers, Celestine was misled by his monks, more well-meaning than well-informed, and deliberately deceived by many who were bent solely on advancing their own interests by any means.³ With the place and favour seekers, with the benefice hunters, and with all that tribe, many officials of the papal

¹ "Servulus suus . . . cum recommendatione devota, et subiectione omnimoda, humillima.

² Ep. of Nov. 11, 1294, ap. *Letters from North. Registers*, p. 108, R. S. "Hujus autem solatii Ebor. ecclesia . . . parte non caret præcipua, propter immediationem præsertim, quia S. R. ecclesiæ, cujus noscitur decorata patronis, nullo medio est subjecta." This letter is not reprinted in the Surtees ed. of the Register of R., but it is there noted that the impossible reading "parochia quod" of the R. S. ed. should be "persona que" which makes sense (p. 174). Cf. *Reg. of R.*, p. 173, for his letter introducing his proctors to the Pope and the cardinals.

³ A report on Celestine's resignation, evidently sent by some English agent of the Curia, and printed in the *Register of John de Halton* (thence in *Letters from North Reg.*, p. 109 ff.), p. 30 ff., London, 1913, sets down as the worst offenders "quidam cardinales, non habentes conscientiam, decipiebant enim quotidie".

chancellery co-operated for gain. They sold documents drawn up in due form and sealed which could be filled in as the purchasers desired.¹ Although this last fact is not mentioned by the Saint's disciple, he does tell us that "cardinals and prelates . . . kings and magnates began to ask the Pope for benefices and fiefs (beneficia), churches, and prebends. And he, inasmuch as he was simple and straight, generously granted all their requests".² The more spiritually minded, such as many of his monks and the people generally, sought spiritual favours. It was noised abroad that he had granted a plenary indulgence to all who had assisted at his consecration. Accordingly crowds flocked to Aquila from all parts, anxious "to drink from the fountain" of mercy which Celestine had caused to flow, and so "on the octave of his coronation he granted a similar indulgence".³ Then, adds his disciple, when he reflected how the rich ceased not to beg from him temporal goods, he bethought him how he might grant spiritual goods to the poor. He, therefore, granted a plenary indulgence to all who should visit the Church of St. Maria di Collemaggio on the feast of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist.⁴ This indulgence

¹ "Inventæ fuerunt plures literæ albæ sine scriptura bullatæ." *Ib.* Cf. Ptol. of L., *H.E.*, xxiv, c. 31; Stefaneschi, iii, cc. 7 and 10, and *De coron. Bonif.*, i, c. 4; and decrees of Boniface VIII. of Dec. 27, 1294 (ap. Bart. of C., *Hist.*, p. 258, *R. S.*), and Apr. 8, 1295, ap. *Reg.*, n. 770, ed. Thomas.

² *B.D.*, c. 30. Of the first importance in connection with the hopeless doings of Celestine, is the evidence of the saintly and learned contemporary author of the *Golden Legend*, the archbishop of Genoa, James "de Voragine" (Varazzo) in his *Chronicle of Genoa* (ap. *R. I. SS.*, ix, p. 54). "Dabat etiam dignitates, prælaturas, officia, et beneficia, in quibus non sequebatur Curia consuetudinem, sed potius quorundam suggestionem et suam rudem simplicitatem. (These acts) in magnum Ecclesiae præjudicium redundabant."

³ *B.D.*, c. 30.

⁴ *Ib.*, c. 31. The grant is thus expressed: "In ecclesia . . . S. M. de Collemadio talem indugentiam posuit, ut quicumque poenitens et confessus in Decollatione S. J. Baptistæ ad eandem ecclesiam annuatim

never became operative, as it was revoked by Boniface, who ordered the Celestines to hand over to him the bull granting it.¹ In a word, to cite the conclusion of the famous contemporary canonist, Joannes Andreas, "He acted like an animal that lacks the light of reason (*unum pecus*). He would grant a favour in the morning, and in the evening recall it, and grant it to another."²

By degrees it must have filtered into the mind even of such a simple soul as Celestine that this wholesale concession of favours of every kind could not be quite in order. Before he resigned, this had become clear to him, and so, on the day of his resignation, he told the assembled cardinals that "of the many things he had done, he would like to undo those that he had not done well, but that, as he could not be sure which those were, he left it to his successor to decide the question."³

Creation of
cardinals,
Sept. 18.

Another disastrously unwise act was his creation of cardinals.⁴ He did well in creating cardinals and in creating twelve at once. Indeed, he would have done better if he had created four or five times that number. But circumstances spoilt his otherwise useful act. Celestine's disciple tells us that he made the new cardinals

veniret, a culpa et a pœna a baptismo absolutus esset." Cf. Potthast, 23981. See also *ib.*, 23975 and 23977 for his extravagant grants of indulgences (2,000 years, etc.) to his monastery of St. Spirito near Sulmona, and *ib.*, 24040 and 24724 for the way in which they were curtailed by Boniface VIII. From n. 23976 we see that C. freed it, along with all the other monasteries of his Order, from all episcopal jurisdiction. Cf. *Cod. Dip. Sulm.*, nn. 91-4, p. 115 ff.

¹ *Reg. Bon. VIII.*, n. 815.

² Quoted by Thurston, *The Holy Year of Jubilee*, p. 8, n.

³ The English report just cited: "*Sed successori meo relinquo ut super hoc faciat suæ beneplacitum voluntatis.*" P. 109. This little or wholly unused document is one of those that show how unfairly the actions of the great Pope Boniface have been judged.

⁴ From Rishanger, p. 144, and Nich. Trivet, p. 332, we learn that the creation was in the month of September; and from *B.D.*, c. 32, that it was in Ember week.

because the Church was not well served (*disposita*) by the existing ones, and that those he created were among the best men that were to be found. He does not, however, tell us what other historians do, i.e., that they were chosen for him, for the most part at least, by King Charles.¹ But even if other contemporaries had been as silent on the subject as Celestine's disciple, the list of the new cardinals' names would have spoken for itself. Seven out of the twelve of them were Frenchmen, and, of the five Italians, two of them, Peter of Aquila and William dei Longhi, were in Charles' service, being his counsellor and chancellor respectively, and the remaining three were his subjects. Two of these three, Thomas of Ocre and Francesco Ronci, belonged to the Pope's Order, and the third, Landulf Brancaccio, was a native of Naples. The seven Frenchmen were Simon de Beaulieu, archbishop of Bourges (bp. of Præneste), Berard de Got, archbishop of Lyons (bp. of Albano), Jean le Moine, bishop-elect of Arras (SS. Marcellinus and Peter), William of Ferrier (S. Clemente), Nicholas de Nonancour (St. Marcellus), Robert, abbot of Pontigny (St. Pudenciana), Simon of La Charité (St. Balbina).²

Speaking generally, the new cardinals were at any rate a body of estimable men³; though, to judge from the fact that seven of them died in the course of the five

¹ Geoffroy de Courlon, *Chron.*, p. 580; *Annals of Verona*, p. 443, ed. C. Cipolla. The new cardinals were made "sine scitu et voluntate cardinalium ad voluntatem Karoli . . . et facit omnia secundum beneplacitum suum". Ptolemy of L. also, *H.E.*, xxiv, 29; Stefaneschi, *Vita*, iii, c. 8; etc., say the same.

² This list is that of Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Med. Ævi*, which is based on the study of P. M. Baumgarten: "Die Cardinals-ernennungen Cälestins V." in *Festschrift des Deutschen Campo Santo*, ed. S. Ehses, Freiburg-im-B., 1897, p. 161 ff.

³ Will. of Nangis, *Chron.*, an. 1294, i, p. 285. "Fecit satis laudabiles et valentes personas."

years following their election, they would appear to have been men advanced in age. According to Stefaneschi,¹ the election was *engineered* by Bartholomew of Capua. After the list of names had been agreed upon by the Pope and the King, only three cardinals, the French cardinal Hugh, Matteo Rosso, and James Colonna were let into the secret. Then the Sacred College was called together suddenly on Friday, Sept. 17, and the names were so sprung upon them that they could do nothing but accept them. The whole twelve were thereupon solemnly acclaimed on the following day.

A new
cardinal
made, Oct.

Whatever truth there may be in these details, it is certain that the twelve were proclaimed on Sept. 18, and that one of them, the Celestine Ronci, died on Oct. 13. Then, says the author of the *Golden Legend*,² "the Pope who, in the plenitude of his power, had made twelve cardinals, in the plenitude of his simplicity made another" in the same way as he had made the others—irregularly and at the suggestion of another. This thirteenth cardinal was that very indifferent character, John of Castroccœli, the archbishop of Benevento, who became cardinal-priest of St. Vitalis. One reason, perhaps, why Celestine made one mistake after another was that, though not altogether ignorant, he was in awe of the Sacred College, and so presumably did not consult them much; and, though not without some skill in speaking, he would only address them simply in his mother tongue, and not in Latin, and would never himself make a public reply to any important question.³ No doubt, too, the

¹ *L.c.*

² James de V., *Chron. Jan.*, p. 54. "Tempore et modo debito non servato . . . sed ad suggestionem aliquorum."

³ Stef., *Vita*, iii, c. 7.

"Sic ille sciens, non nescius omnis
Non etiam ignarus sensus et congrua fandi
Sed titubans, aliosve timens, reverensque senatum, etc."

relations between him and the older cardinals, especially, must have gone from bad to worse as they saw him, without or contrary to their advice, doing one imprudent thing after another. They had been particularly annoyed at the promotion of John of Castroccoli. They had seen how, to ingratiate himself with Celestine, he, Benedictine as he was, had put off his black habit and had clothed himself with that of the Pope's Order.¹ Then, too, he had been given the hat after dinner (*post cenam*) in Celestine's private residence in Aquila. At first some of the cardinals refused to sit with him. But, says Stefaneschi, "patience made the Pope great." It was finally agreed to hold an inquiry into the custom regarding such appointments, and that meanwhile John should cease to wear the cardinal's hat. After an inquiry which Stefaneschi regarded as but summary, the cardinals "rehabilitated the man", partly, says our poet, from fear, and partly "from a secret hope"—a hope, perhaps, that the Pope would soon resign, or perhaps more probably that the schemer would not long enjoy his honours.² At any rate the ambitious man did not enjoy them long, as he died within a few months after he had received them.³

With less reason, considering their conduct, but, considering human nature, perhaps more thoroughly were the cardinals annoyed at Celestine's renewing the *conclave* constitution of Gregory X. relative to their strict enclosure on the death of a Pope till they had elected a new one (Sept. 28).⁴ On account "of the inconveniences which had come upon the world" by the delays in electing a Pope, he renewed Gregory's decree,

Celestine confirms the conclave decree of Gregory X.

¹ C. 10.

² "Sed timor urgebat, *tacite spes addita* cetum impulit." *Ib.*

³ *Ib.* He died Feb. 22, 1295.

⁴ His decree ap. Raynaldus, *Ann.*, 1294, n. 17.

"that dreadful law," which for various reasons Hadrian V. and John XXI. had suspended.¹

Somewhat later, he thought it necessary to support this decree with others. Another step he had meanwhile taken had even more profoundly, and this time with good reason, perturbed the Sacred College. After as before his consecration, Celestine had made up his mind to proceed to Rome,² and after as before it, Charles induced him to change his mind. This time he persuaded him to go to Naples.³ Seeing from the beginning that the Pope was putting himself into the power of Charles, the cardinals had exacted an oath from the latter that if they followed Celestine to Aquila he would not detain them in the event of the Pope's dying in Neapolitan territory.

As the keeping of this oath by Charles might enable the cardinals to evade a real conclave, Celestine, when at San Germano on his way to Naples, absolved the King from his oath, on the ground that, if he were to die in the King's territory, it would devolve upon Charles, in accordance with Gregory's constitution, to see that the cardinals were strictly enclosed.⁴

Finally, in view certainly of his contemplated resignation of the Papacy, and to take away every chance of the cardinals being able to find a subterfuge for evading the conclave, Celestine issued another decision on the

¹ "*Lex illa timenda*," Stefaneschi calls it (iii, c. 9) and he says, *ib.*, that it inflicted a dire wound on the cardinals.

"*Heu dolor, heu lacrimæ! patimur sine murmure sevum
Quod loquimur vulnus, vulnus, miserabile vulnus.*"

² Stef., iii, 9.

³ *Ib.* Cf. *B.D.*, c. 33. "*Rex Siciliæ cum magna instantia . . . petebat ut Neapolim ad suum negotium expediendum papa cum cardinalibus pergeret.*"

⁴ Decree of Oct. 17. "*Si casus mortis dicti Pontificis in eodem regno contingeret, ad te secundum formam Constitutionis (of Pope Greg. X.) ipsa coarctatio pertineret.*" Raynaldus, 1294, n. 17.

subject a few days before his resignation. He decreed that the conclave regulations were to hold good for ever and whether the Papacy became vacant by death, resignation, or any other way.¹

On his way to Naples, the Pope and his cortège stopped first at his monastery of the Holy Ghost at the foot of Mt. Morrone, and there he named Louis, the second son of King Charles II., archbishop of Lyons.² Although Louis was only about 20 years of age,³ and the appointment was, of course, due to the dictation of Charles II., it may perhaps be justified, or at least explained, if not by the candidate's age, at any rate by his exceptional virtue. He had already assumed the poor habit of St. Francis. Although Boniface VIII. annulled the acts of Celestine, he did not altogether overlook the saintly young man. He himself gave him the major Orders, and then consecrated him bishop of Toulouse.⁴

Celestine interferes with the monks at Mt. Cassino.

Celestine's next indiscretion was committed at San Germano, the town on the little hill at the foot of Monte Cassino. He attempted to force the monks of that famous monastery, to which his own congregation had been attached, to adopt his own rule, and in sign thereof to exchange their black habit for the grey of his own.

¹ Decree issued at Naples (Dec. 10, 1294), ap. Raynaldus, *l.c.*

² *Ib.*, n. 15, p. 141, ed. Paris, 1887. Cf. Potthast, n. 23990 (Oct. 7) and n. 23994 (Oct. 9).

³ He was born in February, 1274. Cf. the valuable little life of *S. Louis d'Anjou* by V. Verlaque, Paris, n.d.

⁴ Cf. Potthast, n. 24444, Dec. 29, 1296. Cf. Verlaque, c. vi. Louis † Aug. 19, 1297, and was canonized in 1317. Verlaque, p. 74, n., says that John of Orta, the contemporary biographer of St. Louis, does not mention Celestine's appointment, and that he could not find the original of the bull of Oct. 9. He therefore, with others, does not believe in the nomination. Cantèra, however, p. 104 f., says that the bulls of Oct. 7 and 9, 1294, are to be found in the small Vatican collection of Celestine's bulls, nn. 13 and 14; and it is quite in the style of hagiographers to omit what does not redound to the glory of their heroes.

Not unnaturally the Cassinese objected, but Celestine made Angelarius, one of his own monks, abbot of the monastery, and those monks who would not conform were exiled. However, says Niccolo della Frattura, one of the sufferers, our holy Father Benedict soon brought about the resignation of Pope Celestine, and his successor, Boniface, restored us to our monastery and to our black habit,¹ and deposed Angelarius.²

Favours
granted by
Charles to
the Pope.

To strengthen his hold on the poor old Pope, Charles carefully refrained from attempting to cross him in such acts as the above, which did not interest him, but, on the other hand, he was at pains to do things which he knew would please him and which would not seriously interfere either with his own treasury or policy. Hence, before leaving Aquila, he pardoned, at Celestine's request, those inhabitants of Sulmona who had been condemned by his father for favouring Conradin,³ and ordered his justiciaries to help the papal officials to keep order in Benevento when requested to do so.⁴

He also made offerings to Celestine's monastery of St. Spirito at Sulmona,⁵ granted pensions to his brother Nicholas, and to his nephews,⁶ and, at the Pope's special request, named cardinal Peter of Aquila the guardian

¹ Stef., iii, c. 7, and especially the contemporary monk cited in the text, and cited from his MS. by Tosti, *Storia della Badia di Monte-Cassino*, iii, p. 35 ff. The English continuation of the Chronicle of Martinus Polonus, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxx, p. 718, says that he changed the black into a "russet" habit.

² *Reg. Bonif. VIII.*, n. 96.

³ Cf. his indult of Aug. 22, granted because Celestine "a santitatis (sic) virtute qua rutilat pie motus" had asked him. Ap. *Cod. diplom. Sulmonese*, n. 89, p. 110. Cf. nn. 59, 60, 64.

⁴ Docs. ap. Cantèra, *N. Doc.*, pp. 8-9.

⁵ N. 90, Sept. 20, 1294. It must be said, however, that Charles had a genuine regard for the Celestines, and he continued to grant them money after the Pope's death. Cf. *ib.*, nn. 95-6, nn. 108, 118.

⁶ Doc. of Sept. 6, 1294, ap. Cantèra, p. 54.

of privileges that had been granted to that city.¹ Further, in preparation for Celestine's arrival in Naples, he ordered the streets to be paved,² and gave instructions to his officials along the line of route through the Abruzzi and the Terra di Lavoro to do everything to make the Pope's journey thoroughly satisfactory.³

Despite the helplessness of the Pope, much of the work of the Church went on as usual through the instrumentality of the cardinals and the permanent officials. This we know by the records of our own country for example.

Affairs of
England.
(1) Archbp.
Winchelsea.

On the death of Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury (Dec. 8, 1292), Robert of Winchelsea was unanimously elected to succeed him (Feb. 13, 1293). Setting out at once to obtain the Pope's confirmation of his election, he reached Rome on Whit-Sunday (May 17),⁴ and had to remain there or in the neighbourhood for over a twelve-month for the election of a Pope. Whilst waiting with what patience he could, his learning and sterling character so impressed itself upon those with whom he came in contact that many thought him worthy of the supreme pontificate.⁵ After brother Peter had been proclaimed Pope, we learn from the Continuator of Gervase of Canterbury that he held his first consistory on Sept. 7. At this assembly the election of Robert came up for discussion, and was referred to a commission of three

¹ *Reg. Ang.*, n. 65 (1294 E.), f. 72, cited *ib.*, p. 63.

² Docs. ap. M. Riccio, *Sagio di Cod. dipl.*, p. 80 f., Sept. 2-9, 1294.

³ Again documents from the Angevin archives, ap. Cantèra, pp. 63 f., 69.

⁴ *Cal. of Pat. Rolls* (1292-1301), p. 7.

⁵ Cf. Steph. Birchington (14th cent.), *Vitæ Arch. Cant.*, ap. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, p. 12. Here we may note that Tout, *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, *sub voce*, "Winchelsea, Rob." justly observes that Hook in his *Lives of the A. of C.*, "is careless in details, and unhistorical in tone" when treating of R. W. Our archbp. was, says Tout, "a zealous upholder of papal authority". That explains Hook.

cardinals. It was confirmed on Sept. 6, but Celestine wished to make him a cardinal. In view of the needs of Canterbury, Robert managed to get the Pope to change his mind, and let him, after having been consecrated by Gerard, cardinal-bishop of Sabina, return to England.¹ One of his first acts on his return to his native land was, in virtue of powers received from the Holy See, to promote the worthy John of Monmouth to the see of Llandaff, which had been long vacant.² His long enforced residence in Italy, and the expenses connected with his consecration, had involved him in a good deal of debt. From Lapo and company, merchant bankers of Pistoia, he had had to borrow, when at the Papal Curia, the sum of three thousand pounds, which he agreed to refund by a certain date. Unable to provide the money by the time specified, he had to plead for delay, and the *Register* of John of Pontissara has preserved for us the letter of the company's agents in London (Feb. 25, 1295), by which in consideration of the business put in their hands by the archbishop of Canterbury, and in hope of future business, they agree that he may defer the payment of two thousand pounds of the debt to Feb. 2, 1296.³

Letter to
Edward *re*
peace with
France.

On September 24, Celestine had written to King Edward to notify him of his confirmation of the election of Robert, and to ask him to return intact to the archbishop the temporalities of his see which "during the time of the vacancy of the see are said to be held by you".⁴

Then, a few days later (Oct. 2) he wrote ⁵ what the editor of the *Register* of John of Pontissara ⁶ calls a

¹ *Gervas. Contin.*, vol. ii, p. 307, *R. S.*, Birchington, *l.c.*

² "Unde cum sibi a sede apostolica attributum fuisset ut Landavensi ecclesiæ . . . de episcopo provideret, etc." Birchington, *l.c.* Cf. N. Trivet, p. 333.

³ *Reg.*, vol. ii, p. 505 f.

⁴ Ep. ap. Rymer, ii, p. 656 f.

⁵ Ap. *ib.*, p. 657 f.

⁶ It is also printed in that *Reg.*, vol. ii, p. 509 ff. I have availed myself of Mr. Deedes' analysis and partial translation of this letter

“dignified appeal to Edward” to urge him to stop his preparations for war with France. He begins by assuring the King of his anxiety for the welfare of Christendom in general, and of England in particular, and by praising the devotion of his ancestors to the Roman Church and to peace.¹ But bitter rumours of quarrels between him and the King of France and of preparations for war have wrung the heart of the Pope. He fears the gravest losses for the souls and bodies of many, and disasters for both realms and so for the Holy Land. He is anxious indeed that all Christian princes should live in peace, but especially is he anxious that the Kings of England and France should remain at peace, as Mother Church is specially attached to them. Accordingly, he has decided to send suitable persons to them to try to restore concord. “Would that we ourselves could go to you, and, putting aside all other business, thus give proof of our earnest desire for peace. But the length of the journey and our advanced age will not permit this.” He then exhorts Edward to avoid actions which will hurt the Church which has done so much for him and his predecessors. It would be hateful in the sight of God and man if violent dissensions should break out between princes so nearly related in blood. He begs him “a soldier of Christ, a zealous supporter of the true faith, an earnest champion of the Church” to abstain from acts which will cause such a conflagration that it will be well nigh impossible to find a remedy.² “So, therefore, devoutly incline your ears to our words, and hearken to the prayers of the Apostolic See, that you may not offend God, nay rather that you may please Him by your

¹ “Progenitores quidem tui . . . erga Deum et Romanam ecclesiam clariori devocione fulgentes . . . pacem undique coluerunt.”

² Here Celestine spoke as a prophet indeed. Because he was not listened to, a conflagration was started which could not be extinguished, but took a hundred years to burn itself out.

filial devotion, and may henceforth win His blessing more fully and that of the Apostolic See." As the bearer of his letter, he sends to the King, Bertrand "called Delgot",¹ canon of Lyons, our chaplain, and Edward's ardent partisan. He will give the King further evidence of the Pope's mind.

Following up this letter by another on the following day (Oct. 3), addressed to all the prelates through whose district his agent was to travel, Celestine enjoined them to provide Bertrand and his suite, whilst "on this side of the English sea," with four pounds "Turonensium parvorum" a day, and with twenty solidi sterling on the other side.²

In accordance with this permission, we find Bertrand in England appealing to the bishop of Winchester to grant him the share of the allowance due from him, and showing the greatest care that he was not robbed of the papal indult.³

Money
collected in
England for
the Crusade
to be paid
over.

The same valuable register of John of Pontissara furnishes us with a number of Celestine's letters to the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln relative to the paying over to certain accredited bankers in Italy named by the Pope of the Crusade tenth ordered by Nicholas IV.⁴ In letters dated October 25. and November, 5, 19, 25 from Teano, Aversa, and Naples,⁵ the two bishops were

¹ That is De Got, afterwards Archbp. of Bordeaux and Pope Clement V.

² Ep. ap. *Reg.* of John de P., ii, p. 822. The document was countersigned by Berald, card.-bp. of Albano, who declared that it was intact and furnished with the Pope's bulla duly attached with a cord of hemp.

³ Cf. *ib.* for Bertrand's letter of May 6, 1295 (p. 824), and *ib.* (p. 825) for a mandate of John de Pontissara ordering a levy of 20 pounds from his clergy as their contribution to B's expenses. Cf. the *Annals of Dunstable*, p. 388, whence we see that monastery paying the 20 solidi a day to Bertrand. Under threat of interdict the monastery had also to let him have a carriage horse.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 208 ff.

⁵ *L.c.*, pp. 503, 501, 504.

peremptorily ordered to raise and pay over the money to various named agents of the Frescobaldi company of Florence, merchant bankers of the Apostolic See, or of the Amandati company of Pistoia. In accordance with agreements made with the King, thirty thousand marks sterling could be kept in the country, but the rest in specified proportions had to be paid over to certain branches of the companies just named.

At the same time, the Pope wrote to the powerful bishop of Durham, Anthony de Bek, then in Italy, to order him, if it should be necessary—a contingency which the Pope does not expect—to compel the two bishops to carry out his orders under pain of ecclesiastical penalties.¹

From a very fiery passage of Pierre de Langtoft's rhymed Chronicle² in which he prays that Scotland may be "accursed of the Mother of God" or, as in Mannyng's old English version, "sonken to Helle ground," for the truth was never in her, we gather that when Edward was in trouble with Wales and France, "the foolish King, li fol ray" of Scotland, added to his difficulties. Though, continues the chronicler, Baliol, who had been "brought to the kingdom" by Edward,³ led astray by his "false baronage, against his homage and against his fealty", sent envoys to Pope Celestine to contend that the

The affairs
of Scotland.

¹ Ap. *ib.*, p. 505, ep. of Nov. 19. This same register gives a number of letters (from p. 804 to 835) relative to a collation of a benefice (that of Middleton, now Longparish, Hants) by Celestine. The benefice had been in the hands of the famous notary, Berard of Naples. As he died in Rome, Celestine gave it to Bartholomew of St. Angelo, a client of the Colonna cardinals. Boniface VIII. confirmed Celestine's grant. The case was complicated and caused much feeling, so that bishop J. de P. had to exhort even the abbess of Werewell not to fail in her obedience to the Holy See. When in Rome, J. de P. was won over by the cardinals, and for their sake professed his regard for Bart. (p. 833), and secured him the benefice.

² Vol. ii, p. 221, *R. S.*, or in Wright's *Political Songs*, p. 273, or in Rob. Mannyng's old Eng. version of it, vol. ii, p. 265 ff., ed. Hearne.

³ Cf. *supra*, p. 223 ff.

voice of antiquity proved that Scotland was a fief of the Holy See, but that against his will, King Edward had forced him to do homage to him. He, therefore, begged the Pope to absolve him from his oath. "Too unadvised" Celestine duly absolved him. Thereupon, the Scottish barons chose twelve peers, and took counsel how "to disinherit Edward of the sovereignty". And, so concludes our chronicler, "for the great honour which Edward the wise did to John Baliol such is the reward he received from John the dreamer (musard)." For the moment, as we shall have to treat this matter fully under Boniface VIII., we may say with Pierre "with Scotland let it be as it may", it is necessary for us "on our geste to spede".

Grant to
Edward and
to card. Jas.
Colonna.

Still, before closing our account of the relations between Pope Celestine and King Edward, we must notice a grant made by the former to the latter. Bartholomew of Cotton¹ quotes a letter from the Pope to our King, dated Naples, Nov. 19, which is as extraordinary in its form as in its contents. As to its form—it is addressed to Edward *and* to cardinal James Colonna. As to its contents it is a grant of the firstfruits of ecclesiastical benefices in the province of Canterbury for three years to Edward for the Crusade, and to the cardinal to enable him to liquidate the "heap of (honourable) debts which" he had contracted.² Celestine made the grant, so he explained, in order that the King's zeal for the Crusades might increase, and that "the innate purity of the cardinal might be preserved intact".³

¹ *Chron.*, p. 261.

² We add "honourable" because Celestine speaks of "moles debitorum quæ tu . . . in cardinalatus dignitate, sinceritatem et puritatem in tuis servando vestigiis contraxisti".

³ W. Prynn, in his *The hist. of King John, K. Henry III., and K. Edward I.*, London, 1670, p. 627, quotes a letter of Edw. to the card. thanking him for getting the grant, and telling him he may rely that

After reading this unprecedented document—an evidence of joint scheming on the part of the King, and particularly of the cardinal, for whom it was especially drawn up—one is very pleased to read immediately after it in Cotton, the bull whereby Boniface VIII. promptly annulled all Celestine's grants (Apr. 8, 1295). His predecessor, he justly said, was ignorant of what was due to law and justice, and to the dignity of his office, and he was overcome by the insistence of the ambitious, and seduced by the guile of the deceitful. Consequently, continued Boniface, not only were grants made that were quite out of order, but, so it was said, some were made even without Celestine's knowledge.¹ Unfortunately, however, in this case, Boniface had to renew the grant to Edward and the cardinal, as is clear from a letter in which the King thanks Colonna for obtaining the renewal of the grant, and assures him that he will find in him a partner with whom he will be contented.²

As might have been expected from his character, Celestine did all he could to further the cause of peace among Christian Princes, especially seeing that, like all his predecessors, he was anxious about the expulsion of the infidel from the Holy Land. He was accordingly overjoyed at the prospect of the close of the Sicilian trouble, and accepted at once the treaty which had been made between the Kings of Sicily (Naples) and Aragon. Writing to Charles II. on October 1, he praised him for his unsparing efforts to make peace with James of Aragon, and for his success in having made it. As the

Approves conditions of peace between Charles and James of Aragon.

he (Edw.) will do for him anything he wants. "Si quid autem pro vobis volueritis nos facturos id nobis significetis cum fiducia obtinendi." Ep. of Apr. 6, 1295. Prynne quotes from the *Patent Rolls*, 23 Edw. I., n. 10.

¹ Ep. of Apr. 8, 1295, ap. B. of C., p. 265, a document already cited. Here again, too, we may see a cause of the subsequent great quarrel between Boniface and the Colonnas.

² *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1288-96, p. 442.

treaty between them, he said, concerned the Roman Church, he enumerated and confirmed its terms. By them, Charles was bound to try to induce the Roman Church to remove all ecclesiastical censures published in connection with the Sicilian affair. Philip of France and Charles of Valois were to renounce all claims to Aragon, and, on the other hand the four sons of Charles II. were to be released from captivity. James was also to surrender to Charles all the cities that he held on the mainland of Italy, and in three years from the following first of November was to give up to the Roman Church Sicily, Malta, and the other adjacent islands as they were held by Charles I. If the Sicilians were unwilling to return to their allegiance, James had to help to force them to do so.¹ These conditions, so favourable to Charles, were arranged, despite the intrigues of the Colonna cardinals, who were working to secure every advantage for the Sicilians and the Aragonese, even the election of Frederick of Sicily as Senator of Rome.²

On the following day (Oct. 2), and here again is manifest the paramount influence of Charles in the Papal Curia, Celestine, with regrets certainly, granted him for a year the "Saracen" tithes from France and England to help him to recover Sicily. These were granted on the ground that its recovery would be of the greatest service to the Crusades on account of its neighbourhood to the Holy Land, its fertility, and its possession of all the materials useful for war.³

¹ Ap. Raynaldus, 1294, n. 15, p. 137 f. Also in the interests of peace he issued dispensations for the marriages of Bianca, daughter of Charles II., with James of Aragon, and of Iolanda, sister of James, with Robert, son of Charles. Epp. Sept. 24, ap. Cantèra, pp. 100-1.

² See the document of the summer of 1294, ap. Finke, *Acta Aragon.*, i, p. 15, n. 11.

³ *Ib.*, p. 139 f. Such were the reasons alleged for the wish: "ad educendum ipsam insulam de ipsorum detestabilium manibus detentorum."

A few days later he wrote to the Kings of France and Aragon urging them to put no obstacles in the way of the final conclusion of the peace, and taking advantage of the opportunity to exhort James to break off his illicit connection with the daughter of the King of Castile.¹

But even if Celestine was beguiled into doing many unwise things, his personal sanctity was still working wonders. It subdued the indomitable Guido of Montefeltro. On account of his continual support of the Ghibelline party, and his active hostility to the subjects of the Church, he had again been excommunicated by Nicholas IV. Hitherto he had paid no heed to the censure. Now, however, he presented himself before Celestine, and, professing his sorrow and readiness to make satisfaction, begged absolution from him. The Pope received him most kindly, and promised that he should be duly absolved. But, before the formalities had been completed, he had ceased to be Pope. This, however, was one of his undertakings which Boniface did not annul. Guido was duly absolved by him, and began his life of exemplary penance.² The "man of arms" "in good St. Francis' girdle" clothed him then.³

Absolution
of Guido of
Montefeltro.

During this unhappy period the needs of the States of the Church were not forgotten. In the days of

States of the
Church.

¹ *Ib.*, p. 140 f. On Oct. 8, he had already sent Jasbert, bp. of Valencia, and the Hospitaller Boniface of Calamandrana to ratify the peace, and prepare for the succour of the Holy Land. Ep. ap. Cantèra, p. 105.

² *Ib.*, n. 15, sub. fin., p. 142. The letter of Boniface whence we learn this is dated Nov. 27, 1296. The eighth witness for Celestine's canonization (ap. Seppelt, p. 212), said that it was generally believed that Guido, "that great man of blood," changed his life, and took the religious habit as soon as he heard that Celestine had been made Pope. Cf. *infra*. It was Boniface VIII. who made all the arrangements for Guido to become a Franciscan, who arranged for the dowry to be settled on his wife, as she agreed to his entering a religious Order, etc. See his letter of July 23, 1296, ap. Wadding, *Ann. Min.*, v, 349-50.

³ Dante, *Inf.*, c. 27.

Martin IV., the twelve consuls of Benevento, unmindful of their recognized powers, aspired to the supreme control of the city. As a result, the Pope suppressed them altogether.¹ But, taking advantage of the long vacancy of the Holy See, the people re-elected their twelve consuls. However, they brought down upon themselves a severe reprimand from Celestine. He annulled their election, and severely prohibited them from again choosing consuls.²

If in such acts as this we merely see the workings of pontifical bureaux, we may no doubt see the influence of the Pope himself in the instructions which were issued to the Rectors of the March of Ancona, and of the Romagna, empowering them to moderate the penalties which had been inflicted by former rectors or their officials, and in the appointment of various rectors "in spirituals" in the interests of the ghostly and temporal necessities of the people.³

But, as we have already said, let us "spede on our geste", as there is no temptation to linger on the pontificate of Celestine, pitiable in itself, and deplorable in its results. The foolish acts performed in it brought ill-deserved odium on his successor, Boniface VIII., one of the most arresting figures that ever filled the chair of Peter; and through the preponderance of French cardinals whom Celestine created, he involved the Church in one disaster after another, culminating in the Great Schism of the West.

¹ Ep. Sept. 10, 1281, Potthast, 21786. Cf. S. Borgia, *Mem. Stor. di Benevento*, ii, 169 f.

² Ep. Aug. 30, 1294, Potthast, 23950.

³ Docs. Sept. 1-9, ap. *ib.*, nn. 23952-23963.

CHAPTER III.

CELESTINE RESIGNS. THE REST OF HIS LIFE'S STORY.

WHEN Celestine arrived in Naples, he was lodged in the Castel Nuovo, which, begun by Charles I. (1283), overlooks with its five great round towers the so-called military harbour (*porto militare*). In one of its great halls, when one of the Saint's "Lents" drew nigh—that of St. Martin, Nov. 11—Celestine ordered a wooden hut to be constructed, and decided to remain in it all alone, as he had been accustomed to spend his "Lents" in the past.¹ To ensure that he would be left undisturbed, he caused a document to be drawn up by means of which all the pontifical powers were to be handed over to three cardinals. However, before it was sealed, cardinal Matteo Rosso induced him to withdraw it, "lest the Spouse should come to be thought to have married three husbands."²

But, however he might wish to be alone, and however he might succeed at times in avoiding intercourse with men, he was not hidden, observes Stefaneschi, because, like the ostrich, he had buried his head in the sand. King Charles could still get at him and persuade him to do as he wanted, to suspend, for example, the decree of Nicholas III., as Martin IV. had done, and to name him Senator of Rome.³ Thus once more the Colonna

Celestine
retires to a
wooden cell.

¹ *B.D.*, c. 34, *cf.* Stefaneschi, *Vita.*, iii, c.

² Stef., *l.c.*, vv. 346–7.

"ne sponsa maritis
Credatur nupsisse tribus."

³ Ep. of Dec. 11, given in full by Cantèra, p. 110, n. Celestine avers that he rescinds the decree of Nicholas, because Rome was very well governed when Charles I. was senator, and he has every reason to hope that it will be equally so by Charles II. and *his heirs*. However, as Celestine resigned two days after the issue of this bull, Charles never ventured to assume the title or the position.

cardinals, in the interest of Aragon, had failed to block the aspirations of Charles II. They had written to tell King James that, if they failed to secure the nomination of Frederick of Sicily as Senator, they would try to prevent that of Charles, by getting the Pope himself named Senator with the proviso that he could not appoint a substitute.¹ Charles had, however, as we have seen, proved too much for them.

His scruples
aggravated
by
Jacopone da
Todi.

At times, however, Celestine did contrive to remain at peace in his cell, and to find time to think over the situation in which he had been placed. Among other things that worried him was a poetical effusion of Fra Jacopone da Todi. It was but natural that the Spirituals or Zealots among the Franciscans should have been overjoyed at the election to the papacy of such a renowned ascetical monk as Peter of Morrone. The really sincere and sane ones among them simply wanted to be allowed to live *as far as possible* in the same way as St. Francis had done ; those of them who were sincere, but fanatical, wanted they knew not what, but not to live as they were ; the downright merely fanatical ones, full of the real and supposed prophecies of Joachim of Fiore, hoped that now at last had really dawned the epoch of the Holy Ghost and of the monks.² To this body of men, dangerous from the number of its fanatics of whom the main body seemed to think that ignorance was a virtue, but among whom were leaders of learning far from inconsiderable, but ill-directed by their narrow outlook,

¹ Doc. ap. Finke, *Acta Aragon.*, i, p. 15 f. They beg James to keep their communications secret.

² Cf. *supra*, vol. x, p. 435 ff., and vol. xv, 99 ff. According to Joachim's scheme of the entire history of the world, the first period of its history under the rule of God the Father and the Levites, here below, extended from the Creation to Ozias (Uzziah) ; the second under God the Son and the priests from Ozias to *about* the year 1260 ; and the third, under the Holy Ghost and the monks, from *c.* 1260 to the end of the world.

and even more dangerous from the fact that its members generally had failed to realize that the essence of any kind of religious life is humble obedience—to this body had attached himself the famous Jacopone da Todi, the generally acknowledged author of the *Stabat mater dolorosa*. After the tragic death of his young, fair, and saintly wife, the mind of the worldly and far from virtuous Jacopone was for a time completely unhinged. But, though he at length so far recovered as to be received into the Franciscan Order (c. 1278), and as to become a poet of the first rank, it may be doubted whether his mind ever recovered its perfect balance, or, to put it somewhat differently, whether sympathy did not invariably have too large a share in the formation of his judgments, and whether waywardness was not but too often the mainspring of his actions.¹

When Peter, the hermit of Morrone, became Pope, the then leaders of the Spirituals, among whom is named Jacopone (Jacopus Tudertus), decided to send to the new Pontiff two of their number who had known him before he became Pope. It will perhaps give an idea of the spiritual pride which, no doubt unconsciously, was behind many of the acts of the Zealots, if we give a translation of the passage from Clarenò² which tells of

The
Spirituals
send an
embassy to
Celestine.

¹ See the most sympathetic and delightful chapters on him in Ozanam's *Les poètes franciscaines*, Eng. trans., *The Franciscan Poets*, p. 186 ff., London, 1914. Many others, but not so well, have written on Jacopone. In her *Sons of Francis*, Miss A. Macdonnell has a chapter on J. da T. She says of him: "too much poet to be all Saint"; but I would venture, I trust, with more truth, to say of her: "too much poet to be all historian." Hence I would recommend her work much more for her most pleasing renderings of some of J's poems than for her historic judgments. One could well have done with more of the former and less of "Boniface's fraud and villany" of which Miss M. could certainly have known nothing. J. Pacheu's *Jacopone da Todi*, Paris, 1914, will be found useful for his selection of J's poems accompanied by a French trans. E. Gebhart's *Italie Mystique* (Eng. trans. by Hulme, London, 1922, *Mystics and Heretics in Italy*) has suggestive material on J. da T. ² Certainly a superior character.

this embassy. "Brother Peter of Morrone having meanwhile become Pope, it seemed good to the Minister-General and to all the more principal brethren *in whom Christ and His spirit was firmly believed to dwell*, and especially to brothers Conrad of Offida,¹ Peter of Monticulo, Jacopo of Todi, Thomas of Trivio, Conrad of Spoleto, and the others, who aspired to the pure observance of the rule, that they should send to the Supreme Pontiff brother Peter of Macerata and his companion,² because they had been friendly with him before he became Pope, and he had full confidence in their uprightness (*bona voluntas*)."³ The envoys found the Pope at Aquila, and were favourably received by him. He bade them strive to live in accordance with the rule and testament of St. Francis, absolved brother Peter (Liberatus) from all obedience to his then superiors, placed the exempt brethren under cardinal Napoleon Orsini, and gave them the name of "brothers or poor hermits of Pope Celestine".⁴ For, observes Angelo in

¹ One of the *Sons of St. Francis* treated of by Miss Macdonnell.

² P. of M. was afterwards known as bro. Liberatus, and his companion, Peter of Fossombrone, became more generally known as Angelo Clarenò (also treated of by Miss M.). By mistake, the writer of the article "Jac. da T." in the *Cath. Encyc.* says that J. d. T. himself went on the embassy.

³ From the *Chronica Septem Tribulationum*, p. 308. Most of this work was published by Ehrle (now cardinal) in *Archiv für Literatur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, ii (Berlin, 1886), pp. 125-55; 256-327. Cf. the *Epist. excusatoria* of Ang. Clar. to John XXII., ap. Ciro da Pesaro, *Il Clarenò*, p. 280 ff., 285. Cf. p. 144., Macerata, 1921.

⁴ *Chron.*, S. T., l.c. The same is also stated by Ubertino da Casale in that rare book of his, *Arbor vitæ Crucifixæ*, v., 8, Venice, 1485. It is also stated in similar terms of spiritual pride. He denounces Boniface for killing: "Christi spiritum et evangelicum statum ejus quem paulo ante Celestinus . . . in legitimis. F. filiis (of St. Francis) per bullam autenticam ordinaverat refluere." This quotation is from the fifth col. after the beginning of v., c. 8. On "U. da C." (and on his hostility to Boniface VIII., p. 115) see Miss E. M. Salter in *Franciscan Essays*, Aberdeen, 1912.

another passage,¹ though "the lord Celestine was in habit and name a monk, he was in fact, deed, and *virtue*, a poor man of the Gospel (pauper evangelicus), and in humility a true friar minor".

But no sooner had Celestine resigned the Papacy than the opponents of these *Spirituals* (who no longer professed to be Friars Minor, but "poor hermits" living according to a rule approved by that pontiff,²) denounced them to Pope Boniface as apostates from the Franciscan Order. But, says Angelo Clareno, as trustworthy men who were present have declared, Boniface bade them leave them alone as they were better than they were.³ Not to be thus put off, the opponents of the Spirituals next declared that they were schismatics, and preached everywhere that Boniface was not a true Pope. A little inquiry soon convinced Boniface that there were a number of men, some really monks and some pretending to be such, and some hermits, who were talking against him and the Church generally. He, accordingly, issued an encyclical *Firma cautela* (Sept. 22, 1296), in which he renewed the condemnation of the so-called Order of the Apostles by Honorius IV., and then proceeded to condemn recent "apostates from religious Orders; men known as *Bizochi* who pretend to be monks; and such as, pretending to lead an eremitical or solitary life", are leading the people into error. The episcopal authorities whom the Pope was addressing are urged to be diligent in proceeding against such persons, examining "the conversation and life" of those hermits and *Bizochi* who appear to be suspicious.⁴

¹ *Chron.*, p. 126.

² Cf. the *Ep. excusat.* of A. C., ap. C. da Pesaro, p. 281. Cf. p. 283, and his *De sept. trib.*, p. 319, ap. *ib.*

³ *Ep. excusat.*, p. 287.

⁴ This decree is printed in full, n. 244, pp. 126-7, ap. Alessandri and Pennachi, *Bullarium Pontificium Assissiensense*, Quaracchi, 1920. It was

Jacopone's
message.

It was the best known of these Celestine hermits, Jacopone da Todi, who addressed the Pope in verses that brought trouble and doubt to his delicate conscience. "What are you going to do, Peter de Morrone?"¹ You have come to the test. Your work will show us what you have thought out in your cell. If you fail the hope of the world, a curse will light upon you. . . . If you hold not the balance fair, before God men will hail you. . . . Great grief had I when from thy lips came forth 'I will'. Then didst thou place upon thy neck the yoke which may be thy ruin. Right low has fallen the Sacred College, each of them but thinks of enriching his kin. Beware of benefice-holders ever athirst for revenues . . . Beware, too, of the traffickers who make black white. If thou knowest not how well to guard thyself, sad will be the song thou wilt have to sing."

Celestine
contemplates
resignation.

In the retirement of his little wooden cell, Celestine began to realize that he could not defend himself. He could not even thoroughly understand the language of those about him,² still less could he cope with the intricate questions of law and politics which day by day were brought before him. No matter how simple he may have been, it must have dawned upon him at last that Charles and every one around him were doing nothing but ask for favours. He began to realize, too, how often he had acted in opposition to the more experienced of

unfortunate for the genuine "poor hermits" that they were confounded with the Bizochi and the Fraticelli generally. Cf. Celidonio, iii, p. 99 f., and especially Tocco, "I fraticelli o poveri eremiti di C. V.," ap. his *Studii Francescani*, p. 239 ff. See also ep. of Bonif. VIII. of May 7, 1297, ap. Potthast, n. 24510; *Ep. ex.*, p. 287; Extravag. John XXII., "Sancta Romana" of Dec. 30, 1317.

¹ "Que farai, Pier da Morrone." Satire 25, ed. Brugnoli, p. 294 ff. *Le satire di Jacopone da Todi*, Florence, 1914.

"Que farai, Pier da Morrone? ej vinuto al paragone.

Vederimo el lavorato ke'n cella ài contemplato.

Sì 'l monno è da te ingannato sequita maledictione!"

² Stef., *Vit.*, iii, 7, v. 206 ff.

the cardinals. Accordingly, "he began to think if, without danger to his soul, he could cast down the burden he was bearing."¹

Among the very few books that he had ever possessed was a little compendium of Canon Law. After consulting this, Celestine came to the conclusion that if, for good reasons, other clerics could lay down their office, so, too, could a Pope. Of his conclusion, however, as a Pope had no superior into whose hands he could resign his office, he did not feel quite sure. He, therefore, asked "a friend", who finally agreed that a Pope could resign for a suitable cause, and he was of opinion that to resume one's former mode of life was reason enough.² If that were all, replied Celestine, he had causes in plenty. Nevertheless, for greater security, he consulted a second friend. The second opinion confirmed the first, and Celestine made up his mind. He would resign.³

¹ *B.D.*, c. 34. "Et sic eodem ibidem (in the wooden cell) permanente, cœpit cogitare de onere quod portabat, si quo modo posset illud abicere absque periculo et discrimine suæ animæ." It is, then, his own disciple who tells us that Celestine himself first conceived the idea of resigning. After this irrefragable evidence, only those who want to believe evil of Boniface VIII. will give the smallest credence to the stupid story of the Ghibelline Ferreto Vincentino. Even he only gives it on hearsay : "ferunt." The story is that through a hole which he had made in the Pope's cell, Gaetani, pretending to be an angel from heaven, exhorted him to resign, and devote himself to the service of God alone ! Ed. Cipolla, vol. i, p. 64, and the important n. 1. After the testimony of the disciples there is no need to add the corroboration of Stefaneschi, *Vita*, iii, c. 12. He reflected :—

" Numquid precipere funem

Est opus, et melius Romanam linquere sedem

Pontifici, qui sceptrum tenens in pace gubernet

Ecclesiam, etc."

² All this is from Stefaneschi, *l.c.* Some have suspected that this "friend" was Gaetani, but as we learn from the next chapter of Stef. (c. 13), the first two *friends* whom Celestine consulted were not cardinals.

³ Stef., *l.c.*

" Firmabat idem ; gaudebat anhelus

Presbyter altipotens, statuens in corde volatum."

He consults
some of the
cardinals.

With his mind now made up, Celestine consulted some of the cardinals as to his resignation. Of these, one was naturally cardinal Benedict Gaetani, who was acknowledged generally to be the most learned of his brethren, and who, even by Celestine's disciples, is called "the wisest and most upright cardinal of his time".¹ According to them, Benedict (as every other sensible man must have been) was "exceedingly rejoiced" to hear of the Pope's design, assured him that he could resign, and even adduced instances of some Popes who had already done so.² He gave him the only answer that reason and common sense, informed by the records of history, could have given. If, however, cardinal Benedict correctly assured the Pope that he could resign, we have it on the best authority that he urged him not to do so. The authority is that, too, of a Colonna, the famous Ægidius (Giles), archbishop of Bourges, a man as distinguished by his learning as by his character—a man immeasurably above the detractors of Boniface, and infinitely more worthy of credence († 1316). In his apology for Boniface VIII. (*De renunciatione Papæ*) he boldly appealed to the testimony of living eyewitnesses who declared that cardinal Benedict had urged Celestine not to resign, protesting that his sanctity would suffice to instruct and enlighten the Sacred College. Hence, concludes Ægidius, as this took place in the hearing of many, there were not in his renunciation any of those

¹ "Ad hos suos cogitatus convocavit (Celestine) unum sagacissimum atque probatissimum cardinalem tunc temporis, d. Benedictum." *B.D.*, c. 34; *cf.* *Stef.*, iii, c. 13. From these words of the Pope's own disciples, it is clear that Ptolemy of Lucca (*H.E.*, xxiv, 31, 32, 33; *Annales*, p. 1300) does not put the case properly when he makes Gaetani (whom he names) and other cardinals take the initiative in persuading Celestine to resign on the ground that designing men were causing him to throw the whole Church into confusion.

² Not to mention such a Pope as Benedict IX., Gaetani may have quoted, e.g., the example of Martin I. *Cf. supra*, vol. i, pt. i, p. 400.

tricks or contrivances or deceits that the adversaries of Boniface talk about.¹

Before the cardinals as a body had given their opinion on the legality of Celestine's proposed resignation, rumours of his intention had begun to spread about. When those of his monks who had remained with him heard the report, they moved heaven and earth to divert him from his purpose. His "rustic crowd", as Stefaneschi calls them, implored him not to abandon them, his "untutored flock". They were afraid, they said, of the great cardinals; they will class us as heretics. Not content with this, the monks stirred up the people of Naples.² From Ptolemy of Lucca, who tells us that he was present at it,³ we learn that, by the command of the King, a great procession in which were to be seen many bishops of the neighbourhood, with all the religious and clergy, made its way from the Cathedral to the Castel Nuovo. Arrived at the Castle, appeal was made by it "in the usual way" for the Pope's blessing. Showing himself with three bishops at one of the windows, Celestine duly blessed the assembled multitude. He then hearkened to an address from one of the bishops of the procession, who in a voice so trumpet-like that it was heard by Ptolemy and all the people in the square, begged the Pope in the name of King, clergy, and people, not to consent to resign "as he was the glory of their kingdom". To this one of his attendant bishops gave, in the Pope's name, an ambiguous answer. Supposing that his petition had been granted, the King's orator intoned the *Te Deum*, which was taken up by the whole procession.

Efforts made
to dissuade
Celestine.

¹ C. 23, p. 56: "Quia sufficiebat collegio quod nomen suæ sanctitatis invocaretur super eos." The *De R.P.* is printed in J. T. Rocca-berti's *Bibliotheca maxima pontificia*, ii, pp. 1-64, Rome, 1695.

² This is the assertion, no doubt correct, of Stef. (iii, c. 14). According to the disciples, the Neapolitans stirred themselves up.

³ *H.E.*, xxiv, 32, and *Annales*, p. 1300.

This, concludes Ptolemy, took place about the feast of St. Nicholas (Dec. 6).¹

From both Stefaneschi and the disciples, however, it would seem that, as a result of the agitation of the Pope's monks, a disorderly mob had broken into the Castle and made the same request that was afterwards made in form by the organized body of the clergy of the city.

Celestine
resigns,
Dec. 13.

Celestine having put off the intruders with soft words, a request for prayers and his blessing, summoned the whole body of the cardinals a day or two after the dismissal of the mob. When he had put before them his previous mode of life, he asked them whether old age, formed habits, ignorance of Latin, or of polished speech (*inculta loquela*), limited intelligence, experience, and training were not reasons enough to justify his resignation. Though the cardinals could not but agree that the reasons adduced were sufficient to justify resignation,² they urged him to test his powers, and to remain in office for a time longer, and meanwhile, refraining from following bad advice, to pray himself and order prayers to ascertain the will of God for the good of the world.³

Public prayers were accordingly ordered, and for some eight days Celestine so acted as to allay all suspicion

¹ This date harmonizes quite well with the declaration of Celestine's disciples (*B.D.*, c. 34) that he kept silent as to his intentions for "about eight days", and then resigned on the feast of St. Lucy (Dec. 13).

² The disciples (c. 34) suggest that, in giving this answer, the cardinals were looking to their own advantage. But their hopes, they add, came to nought; for in place "of a simple dove they were to get a most wise serpent". These insinuations show the mental calibre of the disciples who had not wit enough to see that, whatever were the hopes of the cardinals, they gave the only answer that honest, sensible, and learned men could give.

³ Stef., iii, c. 15. The *Chron. S. Petri Erford. mod.*, add that Celestine was also deaf. "Surdus, multamque debilis utpote octogenarius." P. 307, ed. Holder-Egger.

that he still entertained any idea of resigning. Meanwhile, however, with the aid of cardinal Gaetani, he drew up a deed of renunciation.¹ At the close of the period of calm, the cardinals were ordered to meet the Pope on the feast of St. Lucy (Dec. 13), in the great lofty central hall of the Castle, now known as the Sala S. Luigi or the Sala dei Baroni. Swinging open the very door which still gives entrance into this magnificent apartment,² they found the Pope seated on his throne in full pontificals.

When he had signified that he did not wish any interruption, Celestine suddenly produced the deed of renunciation which, with pale face but determined mien, he read out clearly to the assembled fathers. He told them that of his own accord (*sponte*) and free will (*libens*), he resigned the papacy, as his age and other defects rendered him incapable of fulfilling its duties, and he wished to put an end to further disasters, and to attend to his soul's salvation. He then exhorted the cardinals to show their care for the world by electing a worthy pastor who would lead the flock to pastures abundant and fresh, and who would correct the many mistakes he had made.³ Then, to the profound astonishment of the

¹ *B.D.*, c. 34, and *Stef.*, iii, c. 16. The suspicions even of the King were lulled.

² For the reason that this hall is an armoury of modern weapons, I had the greatest difficulty in getting permission to see it.

³ *Stef.*, iii, c. 16, v. 534 ff.

"Defectus, senium, mores, inculca loquela,
Non prudens animus, non mens experta, nec altum
Ingenium, cura solerti cognita nobis
Cedendi causas subigunt, etc.
Et date pastorem . . .

nostrosque ut corrigat actus
Obnixe petimus, cum devius impulit error,
Nam multis variisque modis errasse fatemur."

As we have already stated from the English account of the resignation, Celestine also confessed in his mother tongue that he left it to his successor to correct his mistakes. *Ap. Letters from North. Reg.*, p. 109. The actual text of Celestine's act of resignation is not known; for the

cardinals in front of him, straightway descending from the throne, he took off, one after another, the insignia of the papacy—his mitre with its one crown, the red mantle, the ring, and the other *pontificalia* even to the alb.¹ All this he did, so we are assured by Petrarch,² who had his information from eyewitnesses, “with every sign of joy. If he took the chair of Peter with sorrow, he left it with gladness: *Ascensus mœstus, descensus lætus.*”

He then withdrew for a moment, and returning, clad in the simple garb of his Order, he took his seat on the lowest step of the throne, and said: “Behold, my brethren, I have resigned the honour of the Papacy; and now I implore you by the Blood of Jesus and by His Holy Mother, quickly to provide for the Church a man who will be useful for it, for the whole human race, and for the Holy Land.”³ When he had said this, he rose to go, but the cardinals who had not been able with dry eyes⁴ to look at this scene so touching in its simple humility, entreated him not to leave them until he had duly provided for the future.

Addressing him, therefore, in the name of the Sacred College, Cardinal Matteo Rosso said that by his words

document given by Ciaconius, *Vitæ RR.PP.*, ed. 1677, is not regarded as authentic. However, from the English narrative (*l.c.*, p. 110) we know it contained the following: “Ego C. P. V., considerans me insufficientem ad onus istud, tutus ratione inscientiæ, tum quia senex et impotens corpore, tum quia vitæ contemplativæ, sicut consuevi, colo vacare . . . resigno papatui et oneri et honori.”

¹ *B.D.*, c. 34, *Eng. narrat.*, *l.c.* This narrative is also found inserted, in almost identical terms, in various of our Chronicles, e.g. those of Bart. of Cotton, p. 256 f.; Gervase of Canterbury, *Contin.*, ii, p. 308, etc.

² *De vit. solit.*, l. ii, sect. 3, c. 18.

³ *Eng. nar.*, *l.c.* The word before the “Holy Land” is mutilated. It appears as “. . . nitati”. I have supposed it to be “humanitati”. Cf. Stef., iii, 18.

⁴ The disciples suggest that in the case of many of the cardinals the tears were those of joy!

and acts he had made his determination to resign so plain that on that matter there was no more to be said. To put the situation in order, however, it would be well if he would decree that a Pope could resign, and that the cardinals could accept such resignation. A decree to that effect was accordingly at once drawn up, and signed, and afterwards inserted by Boniface VIII. in his *Liber Sextus* of the Canon Law.¹

On the resignation of Pope Celestine which, at any rate, all serious historians both at the time and since allow to have been spontaneous and free,² various criticisms have been passed. The best is the laconic one of the procurator of the Commune of Vicenza, Guidotto Spiapasto: "On St. Lucy's day Pope Celestine resigned the Papacy, and he did well"! ³ His best deed was his self-sacrificing acceptance of it, thereby putting an end to its disastrous vacancy, and his second best act was his humble resignation of it, whereby he saved himself from inflicting irreparable harm on it and the Church.

Various criticisms on the resignation of Celestine.

Whether one is right or wrong in describing Spiapasto's

¹ Stef., iii, c. 17. "Et reserant decreta novis jam consita libris." Cf. *Annales Austriæ*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix, p. 750. The decree is to be found in Tit. vii. De renunciatione, c. 1, vol. ii, p. 971, ed. Friedberg. In this chapter Boniface says that, to take away all doubts as to whether a Pope could resign, Celestine, with the advice of the cardinals, of whom he was then one, decreed, by his apostolic authority, that a Pope could freely resign ("Romanum pontificem posse libere resignare") and that he himself, also with the advice of "our brethren", had inserted it among other decrees that it might not be lost sight of. Cf. Ptolemy of L., *H.E.*, xxiv, c. 33. In *H.E.*, ii, 9, Ptolemy tells of the resignation of Pope Clement I. to which he had alluded in the former place.

² In addition to the absolutely competent authorities already cited, add: *Annal. Zwifalt.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, x, p. 61, "*Sponte* papatum renunciavit"; and *Ann. Colmar.*, ap. Böhmer, *Fontes*, ii, p. 32, "*Voluntarie* resignavit."

³ Ap. *Archiv. Venet.*, xvii, 1887, p. 428.

"bene fecit" as the best criticism passed on Celestine's resignation, there is no doubt that the one most frequently passed upon it, is that "from cowardice he made the great renouncement"; and the main reason that this is the popular criticism, is because it is generally believed to be the criticism of Dante. In his weird wanderings in the nether regions, the poet, in a kind of ante-chamber of hell, encountered the shades of the lukewarm, of those who in life had been neither good nor bad, and among them he recognized him who, from meanness of spirit and littleness of soul, had uttered the great refusal.¹ This passage is, as we have said, popularly supposed to refer to Celestine and his renunciation of the Papacy; and some think, moreover, that the identification is confirmed by another passage of the *Inferno*, wherein Boniface VIII. speaks of the "two keys which my predecessor held not dear".²

"Lo gran rifiuto" may, of course, refer to Celestine.³ But it is hard to see how even Dante's unmeasured hatred of Boniface (which appears to be the principal reason alleged for his attack on Celestine) could have led a man of his sympathetic intelligence to ascribe to *viltà* Celestine's eminently sensible and heroic act of resignation.⁴ For our part, we subscribe to the arguments or comments of Benvenuto da Imola, the most important of Dante's early

¹ *Inf.*, iii, 59 and 60.

"Vidi e conobbi l'ombra di colui
Che fece per viltà lo gran rifiuto."

² *Inf.*, xxvii, 104-5.

"Son due le chiave
Che il mio antecessor non ebbe care."

³ Such a man as Fazio degli Uberti, who lived near Dante's time, accordingly places Celestine in hell. *Dittamondo*, iv, c. 21. Petrarch (*De vita solit.*, l. ii, sect. iii, c. 18), however, does Celestine but justice when he praises his action in this matter. He was wonderful, he says, in that he resigned the dignity of the Papacy "qui nihil est altius".

⁴ It was an example of humility, says a contemporary, that was "astounding to all, imitable by few", Jordan, *Chron.*, c. 236.

commentators. Dante, he urges, could not have meant Celestine, as he certainly did not renounce the pontificate from want of spirit, for he was truly great hearted: "magnanimus ante papatum, in papatu, et post papatum." He showed nobility of soul before his pontificate, because when he heard of his election he wished to fly with a young man of Salerno called Robert.¹ During his pontificate he showed his magnanimity by daily retiring to a little cell for contemplation, and then, because he realized his unfitness, surrendering by one act every form of honour and distinction. After his pontificate, he once more showed his greatness of soul by again seeking retirement. It is not, then, possible to suppose that "the most wise Dante" would damn a most holy man. No, continues Benvenuto, he referred to Esau.² The commentator goes on to remark that Dante was irritated against Boniface, and so very frequently spoke evilly of him, that "great souled sinner"; and yet it was Celestine who "of his own accord (sponte)" had given the pontificate to him.³

To enable us to conclude the story of Peter of Morrone, we must here note, though without going now into details, that Benedict Gaetani, the one among the cardinals whom, at least on one subject towards the end of his brief pontificate, Celestine most consulted,⁴ was quickly and

Election of
Boniface.

¹ This, as we have seen, is also stated by Petrarch from whom we learn that the disciple was as great as his master; for when Celestine wanted him to remain with him as Pope, he replied he was ready to fly with him to poverty, but not to abide with him in honour and glory.

² Many conjectures have been made as to whom Dante referred to. G. Rivera, in his pamphlet, *Dante e gli Abruzzi*, p. 6, regards it as highly probable that D. referred to Vieri de' Cerchi, chief of the Bianchi faction, as his family "per viltà" refused the dominion of Florence.

³ *Comment., Inf., iii, vol. i, pp. 117-20, ed. Lacaita, or vol. i, p. 95 ff.* of the Italian trans. of Tamburini. Dante "sæpissime dixit multa mala de Bonifacio, qui . . . fuit magnanimus peccator".

⁴ Cf. John Longus, *Chron. S. Bert.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxv, p. 866. The

unanimously elected Pope on Dec. 24, 1294.¹ Not a little has been written by modern writers to explain this speedy election, but it must be confessed that a large proportion of them rely rather on their own political theories than on such direct evidence as is available. Relying exclusively on the latter, we may say that Celestine was the chief cause of his election. We have just seen that Benvenuto da Imola believed that Celestine "gave" (donaverat) the pontificate to Boniface. But there is better evidence than that. Stefaneschi assures us that he had it from the mouth of Boniface VIII. himself, and from others, that Celestine had told him and others also that he would succeed him.² Celestine's disciples, moreover, assert that he foretold to Thomas de Ocra, a member of his own Order whom he had made cardinal, and to Benedict himself that he would be his successor.³ An English authority is still more definite on the influence exerted by Celestine in behalf of cardinal Gaetani. It states that when asked whom he regarded as a just and holy man suitable to succeed him,⁴ he had named Benedict Gaetani. Seeing that he had made a wise choice, the cardinals elected Benedict Pope.⁵

Peter M. is
kept near
Boniface.

As soon as Gaetani had been elected, Peter at once paid him due homage "reverently kissing his feet", and then asked his permission to return to his cell.

chronicler makes far too wide an assertion when he says that C. consulted Benedict "ut ab eo *in suis factis papalibus* . . . informaretur". He would not have made so many mistakes if he had consulted him regularly.

¹ "Cardinales . . . concorditer per viam scrutinii elegerunt d. Benedictum." Eng. nar., ap. *Letters from N. Reg.*, p. 110.

² *Canonis Cel.*, iii, c. 17, and Stef.'s own note thereto.

³ *B.D.*, c. 35.

⁴ It will be remembered that when Celestine resigned, he urged the cardinals to elect a pastor, "rectum doctumque." Stef., *Vita*, iii, c. 6.

⁵ *Flores Hist.*, iii, 276, *R.S.*

But, continue the disciples, Boniface had other designs in his regard, and said that he did not wish him to return to his cell, but that he should accompany him into Campania. They even insinuate that Boniface began to bully the saint.¹ The fact merely was that no one better than the new Pope understood how simple Peter was, and how liable he was to be influenced by those in whom he trusted. He naturally feared that designing men who hoped everything from Peter de Morrone might succeed in persuading him that he could not resign the Papacy, and so that, especially in view of his popularity with the multitude, a dangerous schism might be brought about. He was aware that many had disapproved of Celestine's renunciation,² and so he judged it better to keep him under his eye.³

Peter's subsequent conduct showed how well founded were the suspicions of Boniface. The new Pope had naturally decided to leave Naples as soon as possible,

Flight and capture of Peter of Morrone, 1295.

¹ "Et aliis verbis multis cœpit terrere illum." *B.D.*, c. 35.

² "Hac renunciatione peracta, omnes (?) qui hoc audiebant contra illum clamabant quod non bene fecisset." Such is the exaggerated language of the disciples. *B.D.*, c. 34, *sub fin.*

³ He feared that "simplices" would still think Celestine Pope, "et per consequens scisma in ecclesia oriretur." *Annales Austriæ, contin. Florianensis*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix, p. 750. Cf. *Chron. Osterhoviense*, ap. Böhmer, *Fontes*, ii, p. 557; Benvenuto da Imola, *Comment.*, vol. ii, p. 42, ed. Lacaita; *Annales Altahen. cont.* "Ipsium (C.) reclusit, ne scisma fieret," ap. *M. G. SS.*, xvii, p. 416; B. Guidonis *Vita Cel.*, etc. Even the "Spiritual", John Peter Olivi, thought it necessary to write a work "De renuntiatione Papæ" (ed. Olier, ap. *Archiv. Francisc. Hist.*, xi, 1918, p. 307 ff.) to disprove the arguments put forth to show a Pope could not resign. He died, 1298. See also, *ib.*, p. 366 ff., his letter to the famous "Spiritual" Bl. Conrad of Offida (Sept. 14, 1295), in which he refutes the "frivolous and ridiculous reasons" (springing not from reason and Canon Law but from a false mysticism and *Joachism*) of those "rash and presumptuous" men who "stupidly" say that a Pope cannot resign, and that Boniface is not a true Pope.

and to go to Rome.¹ Bidding Peter accompany him, he left Naples perhaps before December was out, but, at any rate, in the beginning of January,² 1295, as he reached Rome on January 17.³ Having told Peter to journey in his company, Boniface presumed that he would do so, and evidently did not order any very strict watch to be kept over him. Meanwhile, however, Peter had allowed himself to be influenced by those around him. They had put all kinds of ideas into his mind as to what Boniface intended to do with him. Among other things they said that he was taking him into Campania to imprison him there.⁴ Arguing that he had only resigned in order that he might be able to lead the same sort of life as he had done before his election, Peter decided to return to it, despite anybody. He had left with quite a large company, including his former disciple, Angelarius, Abbot of Mt. Cassino. When, however, he reached San Germano, he quickly, with the aid of a priest, slipped away, and returned to his cell on Mt. Morrone amidst the greatest manifestations of joy on the part of the people of all the country round.⁵

On hearing of his secret departure, Boniface was perturbed, and justly annoyed. He feared that the simple monk had been induced to resume the Papacy.⁶ He, accordingly, straightway dispatched his chamberlain (camerarius), Theodoric of Orvieto, and the abbot of

¹ He left ". . . Ut Petri sedes, compressa dolore
Libertate frui, sponsumque revisere posset."

Stef., *Bonif.*, c. 5.

² Acc. *ib.*, *Prose*, p. 11, B. left for Rome on the first or second of Jan

³ This date, not given in Potthast, is furnished by the useful English narrative, ap. *Letters from N. Reg.*, p. 111.

⁴ *B.D.*, c. 36. "Multi dicebant quod in Campaniam illum volebat ducere, ut ibi illum incarceraret. Et alii alia cogitabant."

⁵ *B.D.*, cc. 37-8. "Sulmonenses cives . . . occurrerunt ei omnes obviam et illum videntes nimium lætati sunt." Cf. Stef., *Canon*, i, c. 2.

⁶ *B.D.*, c. 38. "Credebat ivisse ad papatum, quem dimiserat, resumendum."

Monte Cassino to seek him. They had no difficulty in tracking him to his cell, where they found him giving thanks to God that He had brought him back there. They upbraided him for having gone off without the Pope's permission, and bade him return at once lest Boniface should be angry with him. Peter, however, replied by pointing out that he had resigned in order to be able to return to his former mode of life, and he begged the Pope's messengers to entreat him to allow him to end his life in solitude as he had begun it. He undertook, moreover, not to speak to anyone but to his monks. Extracting a promise from him that he would not leave his cell till they should return with the Pope's answer, the messengers departed.

On their return journey, they were met by another papal messenger, who informed them that they were to bring Peter back with them whether he wanted to come or not. Before the chamberlain could retrace his steps, word of his errand had reached the hermit; so that when the messenger reached the cell, Peter was not to be found. It was to no purpose that the chamberlain scoured the country, uttered threats and offered rewards. Peter's hiding place was not to be discovered. However, the irate official seized the two monks whom he found in the hermit's cell. But, as one was too ill to travel, he carried off the other, Angelo di Caramanico. Presumed to be privy to Peter's flight, the unfortunate monk was imprisoned in the rocky islet of Martana (or Malta), one of the two little islands in lake Bolsena. Here he died in a few days.¹

¹ All this is from *B.D.*, c. 39, and the note, p. 425, from another MS. It is from Benvenuto da Imola, commenting on "Malta" in *Paradiso*, cant. 9, that we learn the name of the prison, and the speedy death of the prisoner. But he has confused the monk *Angelo* with abbot *Angelarius*, and says that it was the latter who was imprisoned by Boniface for not guarding Peter properly. He is certainly wrong, as

Peter tries
to cross the
sea.

Meanwhile, brother Peter of Morrone was making his way to "a certain wood in Apulia in which there were a number of good servants of God", and which was about four days' journey from his cell. Though clad "in a most vile cloak", he was, we are told, everywhere recognized as he walked along, even by people who had never seen him before. In the wood he remained concealed till Palm Sunday (March 27), but when on that day a Benedictine Abbot, searching for him, passed through the wood, Peter resolved to fly across the sea to Greece.¹ Some of his monks, accordingly, engaged some sailors of Rodi, on the coast below the northern slopes of Mte. Gargano, to convey him across the Adriatic. For five or six weeks, however, storms and contrary winds prevented their putting to sea, and when, at last, they sailed out they were driven back, and had to come ashore close to Viesti only fifteen miles from Rodi round the promontory.²

Peter is
captured.

Again, for several days, the sailors were unable to launch their boat, and word reached "the Captain" of Viesti that the ex-Pope was in the neighbourhood. Overjoyed at the news, the Captain, or Podestà, seized him, and at once sent word to the Pope and to the King of Naples and his officials regarding his capture. Charles II., we are told, was then, according to the disciples, at Anagni, no doubt with Boniface, who went there in June.³ The King agreed to act in concert with the Pope, as he had done from the time when Peter had

we know that Angelarius was alive on Apr. 18, 1295, when he was deposed by Boniface, not for carelessness in guarding Peter, but because he had been most injudiciously forced on the monks of Mt. Cassino by Celestine. Cf. *Reg. Bonif. VIII.*, n. 96, and *supra*, p. 300.

¹ *B.D.*, c. 40.

² *Ib.*, c. 41. Cf. *Stef., Canonis.*, i, c. 4.

³ *B.D.*, c. 42. Charles II. reached Anagni June 7. Cf. *Syllabus Membranar.*, ii, 157.

fled from San Germano.¹ He, therefore, with the consent of Boniface, sent to Viesti "the patriarch of Jerusalem",² a Templar (William of Villaret, prior of St. Giles in Provence), the knight Louis de Roheriis, and the Constable William l'Estendard to escort the fugitive to him. From the actual documents giving King Charles's commission to these men to act, it appears that they were sent on their errand whilst the King and Boniface were still in Rome (May 16 and 17),³ before either of them went to Anagni. However, it was when both of them were in that hill town that brother Peter was presented to them.

The disciples tell us on the one hand that "those good lords", the King's Commissioners, treated Peter with as much deference as if he were still Pope,⁴ and on the other hand that "many men" were constantly urging him to reclaim the Papacy, as he had no legal right to renounce it. "All men were on his side."⁵ But, adds the biographer, I myself heard him reply: "Far be it from me to cause dissension in the Church. I did not give up the Papacy to take it back again; and I am still of the

¹ See his letters dated Jan. 26, 1295, from Rome to the Justiciary of the Abruzzi, and other officials, ordering them to assist in the search for brother Peter. Docs. ap. Cantèra, p. 81 f.

² Or, as he is perhaps more correctly called by the eighth witness, "the once (quondam)" patriarch of Jerusalem. Ap. Seppelt, p. 212. This was Radulf (Raoul or Rudolf) de Grandivilla, a Dominican, who had been consecrated patriarch by order of Celestine V. His appointment, like the rest of those of Celestine, was cancelled by Boniface. Cf. *Chron. Gerard de Frachet contin.*, ad an., 1294, ap. RR. FF. SS., xxi, p. 12. However, as witness xi speaks only "of a certain (quondam) patriarch of J." (Seppelt, p. 216) and King Charles II. calls Radulf "Patriarch of J.," it may be that his nomination by Celestine had not yet been cancelled.

³ The diplomas are given in Cantèra, p. 83, n. They are also published by Capasso in vol. x of the *Arch. Stor. Nap.*, vol. x, p. 779.

⁴ C. 42.

⁵ *Ib.*, c. 43.

same mind come what may." ¹ So great were the number of the Saint's admirers who came to salute him on his journey, that at length his escort had to insist on travelling by night. By night also was he brought secretly into Anagni, and lodged close to the Pope.²

Peter is
confined in
the castle of
Fumone,
1295.

Next day he was brought before Boniface, and asked why he had not obeyed the orders he had been given, but had fled from San Germano, and then from his cell at Sulmona. When he had explained his reasons, brother Peter begged to be allowed to return to his cell. To this request the Pope replied that he could give no answer till he had consulted the cardinals. The matter was accordingly referred to them in consistory.³ If we are to believe Peter's biographers, several (plures) of the cardinals advised that his desire should be granted. Nevertheless, the majority of them, having in mind that brother Peter did not understand that obedience was better than sacrifice, that he had shown that he could be persuaded to disobey orders, and to break his word, and that large numbers of his simple or interested admirers believed or feigned to believe that he could not resign the Papacy, decided that it was necessary

¹ *Ib.*

² *Ib.*, cc. 43-4. Cf. Stef., *Canonis.*, i, c. 5..

³ The narrative of Celestine's disciples, which we are here following, gives the impression of a rather rough reception of the Saint by Boniface. But, if we turn to the narrative of Stefaneschi, *l.c.*, which, to say the least, is as worthy of credence as that of the disciples, we find that Boniface received him most kindly, and so put the situation before him, that he expressed his readiness to go to Mte. Fumone, where: "Non facilis gressus, nec bello pervia et armis." If he lived hardly there, he did so because he wished to live as he had lived before.

"Blandeque amplectitur alium

Alloquiturque senem placidis sermonibus heros (Boniface);

In tantumque pium movet, ut consistere promptus

Arce velit castri Fumonis

Sed celica spirans

Parce usus, parceque tulit, moresque priores

Observare studet." *L.c.*

that he should be kept in safe confinement. He was, therefore, after being retained two months at Anagni, whilst such a place was being prepared, conveyed by night to the castle on Monte Fumone, some eight miles above Ferentino.¹ The little town of Fumone, standing on a round, stony isolated hill, and commanding the whole district, forms, like the Italian hill-towns generally, as it were a large fortress, with its castello as a sort of citadel in its centre. It was in a very small room in this castle that the ex-Pope was confined (c. August, 1295). When he saw it, he gave thanks to God, exclaiming: "I have longed for a cell and a cell I have got."² At his request, two of his brethren, with whom he could recite the divine office, were allowed to remain with him. At first, they had to be changed frequently, as they could not endure the close confinement. But at length two stronger ones were found who remained with him till his death, which took place some ten months after his arrival.³ Though it is true that in brother Peter's cell there was barely room to turn, we are assured that he never made any complaint about it,⁴ and it may certainly be said that, to say the least of it, it was no worse than his cell on Mte. Morrone. Hence it is, that though Peter's cell was so narrow, and though no one was allowed to converse with him or his two companions,⁵ still con-

¹ *B.D.*, c. 44. I visited the castle of Fumone, Dec. 30, 1908.

² *Ib.*, c. 45. "Cellam desideravi, cellam habeo, sicut tuæ placuit pietati D. Deus meus."

³ *Ib.*

⁴ "Et, ut ipsi fratres mihi rettulerunt, numquam ipse turbabatur . . . nec propter artationem carceris nec propter improbitatem militum qui eum custodiebant." *Ib.* As far as the "improbitas or malice" of the jailers are concerned, we may be permitted to believe that the Saint did not complain of it, because it did not exist.

⁵ How necessary this restriction was will be understood when one reflects that the two Colonna cardinals, in their hostility to Boniface, put forth, in *Celestine's lifetime*, that his deposition and the election

temporary historians, as a body, assert that he was treated with consideration.¹

Death of
bro. Peter,
1296.

For some ten months, brother Peter bore his confinement without any inconvenience. But he had already long outlived the allotted span of human life, and God now thought fit to bring his sixty-five years of penance to a close. The Saint's disciples narrate how, after he had celebrated with great devotion the feast of Pentecost (May 13), for which he had prepared himself by special prayers and fasts, he fell ill before the day had expired. A doctor was sent for at once, but he declared that there was no hope. The Saint was suffering from an abscess (apostema) in his right side which gave him great pain. Predicting his death to his brethren, he received the last sacraments, and bade his companions disturb him as little as might be so that he could devote all his thoughts to preparing for his last end. "He who had dominion over the whole earth, and had left it all for Christ . . . lay dying on a board covered with a single cloak."² After lying thus for a week, he died on the Saturday, at the

of Boniface were invalid. "Qui (these cardinals) *vivente P.C.*, schisma commoverant, dicentes indebitam ejus depositionem et injustam Bonifacii promotionem extitisse." Will. de Nangis, *Chron.*, ad an. 1296.

¹ W. of N., ad an. 1294. "Fecit (Boniface) eum (C.) sicut decuit honestissime custodiri"; or in another version: "Honorifice fecit eum diligenti custodia . . . custodiri." Cf. *Annales Halesbrun.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiv, p. 46. An author of a continuation of Martinus Polonus (*Cont. Brabant.*, ap. *ib.*, p. 261), though he believes that Boniface induced Cel. to resign by throwing near his bed a parchment written in letters of gold as though from heaven, telling him that he could not be saved as Pope, still says that he as a captive: "curialiter tenuit (eum)." See also *Florence of Worcester, Contin.*, p. 276.

² *B.D.*, c. 46. Here again the disciples manifest their bitter feelings and utter want, one will not say of Christian charity, but of fairness. They complain that their father, who had never used a bed, and would not have used one if it had been brought to him, had no bed to lie on, whereas "he to whom he had left the Papacy reposed like a god on a couch adorned with purple and gold".

hour of vespers, just as he said the words: "Let every spirit praise the Lord" of the psalm: "*Laudate Dominum in sanctis suis*" (May 19, 1296).¹

From the day before till the hour of his death, the soldiers on guard declared at the time and afterwards to Pope Boniface and everybody that they had seen a golden cross suspended in the air in front of his room.² The disciples add that by this miracle the Almighty wished to show that He was pleased with the way in which His servant had for so many years borne the cross of penance. They also state that the brothers who were with the dying Saint were so much concerned with his state that they had no wish to leave his room in order to see the shining cross.

Appearance
of a miracu-
lous cross.

This apparition of a luminous cross is given as miraculous in the bull of Celestine's canonization, but the account of it is given somewhat differently by one of the witnesses examined for it. Canon Nicholas Verticelli of Naples, professor of civil law, swore that he had acted as assessor (auditor) to Thomas, cardinal of Sta. Cecilia, who on the death of bro. Peter had been sent by Pope Boniface to Mte. Fumone. There they spoke with Theodoric of Orvieto, the Pope's chamberlain (camerarius) and with a number of the warders of the castle. These men asserted that before the death of the Saint there had appeared before the door of his room a ball of fire which gradually formed itself into a cross of a golden colour, and remained suspended in the air for more than an hour (per magnam horam).³

¹ *Ib.*, c. 47. This was in the 87th year of his age.

² *Ib.* A modern inscription in what is shown as the Saint's cell sets forth: "Circa hujus cubiculi ostium tota die XIX. Maii, an. MCCIVC qua S. Petrus Celestinus PP. Quintus hic obdormivit in Domino aurea crux mirabiliter in ære pendere visa fuit." Cf. Stef., *Canonis.*, i, c. 7; and iii, c. 10.

³ Witness 9, ap. Seppelt, p. 213.

Burial of
bro. Peter.

Word of the Saint's death was immediately sent to Rome, and, though the disciples themselves assure us that Boniface showed signs of grief at the news, they, in some way best known to themselves, divined that he was "exceedingly rejoiced" at it.¹ At any rate, the Pope straightway dispatched to Mte. Fumone, cardinal Thomas and his chamberlain, Theoderic, with orders that all honour should be paid to the body of the one-time Pope. Meanwhile, he himself with great solemnity sang Mass in St. Peter's for the repose of his soul.

Arrived at Mte. Fumone, the two representatives of the Pope summoned thither the bishops and religious of the whole of Campania, and accompanied by a great crowd of people carrying candles and torches, took "the holy body" in a coffin of wood down to the church of St. Anthony close to Ferentino. In this church, which in life bro. Peter had completely restored, his body was laid to rest near the high altar (May 21),² and many, we are assured by the disciples, were the miracles wrought at his tomb.³ Whoever else were distressed at the Saint's death, his disciples certainly were. They bewailed the

¹ *B.D.*, c. 47. "Nimium gaudens effectus est." It is scarcely worth while to observe that Boniface might be glad that danger of schism in the Church, and of great trouble to himself, had been removed, and yet, at the same time, be sorry that a good man had been taken away.

² *B.D.*, c. 47; witness n. 9, ap. Seppelt, p. 214; Stef., *Can.* i, c. 8.

³ *B.D.*, *ib.* "Ubi fiunt multa miracula sicut fides petentium exigit." This narrative contains accounts of many miracles wrought by bro. Peter, both before and after he became Pope, and during his Papacy. We have not inserted them in our narrative in order not to interrupt the Saint's life story, and because a large proportion of them were rejected by the cardinals who examined them in view of bro. Peter's canonization, either because the alleged fact was not sufficiently established as a fact, or as a miracle, or both. Cf. *Sententiæ cardinalium de miraculis f. Petri de M. quondam C. P. V.*, ap. *Analect. B.*, 1897, p. 475 ff. Stef. gives a number of the miracles in Lib. iii, cc. 2-20 of his *Canonis. P. de M.*

loss "of the foundation of their *religion* (i.e., of course, their Order), and of the glory of all religious", and of one "who was the comfort of the sad, the uplifter of the poor, and the support of the weak".¹

That the body of the Saint should rest near Ferentino was not all to the mind of the people of Aquila. As in life brother Peter had been much more closely connected with Aquila than with Ferentino, they argued that in death his body should belong to Aquila rather than to Ferentino. Accordingly, when a war had broken out between Anagni and Ferentino, in 1326, the people of Aquila, thinking that their chance had now come, entered into negotiations with the counts of Anagni in order to induce them to get possession of the body, and then hand it over to them.² Hearing of this, the people of Ferentino, despite the protests of the monks, brought the body within the city walls, and placed it in the Church of St. Agatha. But, robbed of their treasure, the monks of St. Anthony came to the conclusion that it was better that the body of their founder should repose in a church of their Order in Aquila than in a church of seculars in Ferentino. Despite, therefore, the jealous care which the people of Ferentino took of the Saint's body, the monks managed to smuggle it out of the Church of St. Agatha in a mattress. Then, after a brief

The body of the Saint is carried off to Aquila, 1326.

¹ *B.D.*, c. 48. "Lamentatio de eodem Patre."

² Cf. "Legenda de translatione S. corporis ejus", published in the *Analecta B.*, 1897, p. 468 ff. This account is evidently written by an inhabitant of Aquila; for the writer thinks that, though the people of Ferentino honoured the body of the Saint, their praise was not enough "for the merits of Celestine". Greater praise was due to one "qui erat lucerna et speculum mundi". Of course, that he could get that praise in the superior city of Aquila, is the insinuation. The document (Vatican MS. 8883) was drawn up in the first half of the fourteenth century. There is another narrative of the *translation* which was first published by D. Faber, and reproduced by the Bollandists, *Acta SS.*, t. iv, Maii, pp. 435-6. The *Legenda* is the original version.

concealment in a desk of their prior, the monks, taking advantage of an attack by the people of Anagni, contrived, under cover of night, to convey the sacred remains to Aquila.¹ They were then deposited in a chapel at the end of the left aisle in the church of St. Maria di Collemaggio, wherein he had been crowned. "You wished," sings a local poet of the Saint, "to return to Aquila which you ever loved."²

Overjoyed at the possession of the body of the Saint, beloved by all the Abruzzese, the people of Aquila, after great preparations, began, on February 15, 1236,³ a series of festivities, ecclesiastical and secular, in which more than a hundred thousand persons are said to have taken part.⁴

In what sort of a tomb the mortal remains of Celestine V. were first placed in Aquila is not known. But in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the silver chest⁵ enclosing them was put in the existing tomb of Parian marble, made at the expense of the city wool-workers. It is remarkable for its grotesque figures and capricious intaglios executed with great delicacy.⁶

¹ *Ib.*, p. 471.

² See a quotation from the *Laude Aquilane* in the notes to the *Cronaca* of Buccio di Ranallo, p. 65, ed. de Bartholomæis.

³ The poet B. di R., p. 65, gives 1327 as the date of the bringing of the body of St. C. to Aquila, but the authority of the *Legenda* is better.

⁴ *Legenda*, p. 472. "Veniunt cum muneribus venerari . . . sanctum Domini." Cf. B. di R., p. 64.

"Gran festa ne fo facta,	sacciate veramente :
Tucte le Arte annarovi,	ciaschuna con gran gente,
Ciaschesuna Arte fé	ad san Petro presente ;
L'altre spese facembo	nui generalmente."

⁵ This beautifully chased chest was, with other rich treasures of the Church, carried off in 1529 by Filibert of Chalons, Prince of Orange. Cantèra, p. 91.

⁶ See an illustration of the tomb in the Bollandists, *Propyl. ad mens. Maii*, p. 391, ed. Antwerp, 1742. Cf. V. Bindi, *Monumenti storici ed artistici degli Abruzzi*, Naples, 1889. See plates 156-7. Among the inscriptions on the monument we read : "Opus magistri Hyeronimi Vincentini Sculptoris."

The bones of the Saint are now distributed among eight reliquaries. In one of these is the skull, and on its frontal protuberance on the left side above the middle of the left orbit is an oblong hole which might have been made by a nail. The existence of this hole furnished excellent material for the imaginations of the enemies of Boniface VIII. That monster had caused the Saint to be killed by ordering a nail to be driven through his head! If there was nothing else to attach any fair or generous minded man to the memory of Boniface VIII., the realization of the utterly unscrupulous way in which he has been maligned would be more than enough.¹

Though there is no denying that Peter de Morrone was a man of "rude simplicity", and that, when Pope, he did much harm to the Church "not from malice" but from this very simplicity,² and though there is no denying that, from want of education, he was deficient in secular learning,³ and even, it may perhaps be said, in the knowledge of some of the soundest principles of the spiritual life, nevertheless, he made most heroic efforts to sanctify himself. There is, moreover, every reason to believe that God, who sees the heart, blessed his efforts, by giving him a certain control over the forces

Present
condition of
the body.

Peter de
Morrone is
canonized,
1313.

¹ After what we have written about the death of Celestine there is no need to refute this malicious invention. I will only say that I examined the skull with a medical friend, Dr. J. E. A. Ferguson, now the Very Rev. Mgr. He assured me that there was nothing to show that the hole might not have been made after death, and that, in any case, a nail inserted in the position described might not kill!

² Such is the just judgment of the enlightened and pious James de Voragine, *Chron. Januense*, c. 9, ap. *R. I. SS.*, ix, p. 54. In his acts he often followed "non Curie consuetudinem, sed . . . suam rudem simplicitatem. . . . Et quamvis non ex malitia, sed ex quadam simplicitate hæc faceret, tamen in magnum Ecclesie præjudicium redundabant."

³ That is the general verdict of his contemporaries, Will. of Nangis, ad an., 1294; Bart. of Cotton, p. 252, *R.S.*, etc., etc.

of nature so as to enable him to work miracles,¹ and, what is more wonderful, by giving him exceptional power to draw men from indifference or even from vice to virtue. Consequently, he had not been long dead when an agitation began for his formal canonization.² It was taken up by princes and people alike. Among the former, assuredly from anything but worthy motives, was Philip le Bel. His motives can be seen in the form of his request to Pope Clement V. "With great importunity, he demanded from the Pope the bones of Boniface VIII. that he might burn them as those of a heretic, and also the insertion of the name of Peter of Morrone, once Pope Celestine V., in the catalogue of the Saints."³ Not having the slightest intention of granting Philip's first outrageous request, Clement took preliminary steps towards granting his second. He commissioned James, archbishop of Naples, and Frederick, bishop of Valva-Sulmona, to collect the necessary evidence with regard to the life of Peter of Morrone. The commissioners began their work on May 13, 1306, and its result,⁴ from which we have often quoted, was discussed at the Council of Vienne (Oct., 1311),⁵ and then frequently by the cardinals. At length on May 5, 1313, Clement V., wearing a beautiful cope of English workmanship, preached on the saintly life of Peter of Morrone; and afterwards, on the same day, issued the bull "Qui facit magna", by which, "relying on the power of Almighty God, and on

¹ The bull of his canonization accepts nine miracles and declares that he wrought "very many others". Cf. Stef., *Canonis.*, iii, cc. 1-21.

² Ptol. of L., *H.E.*, xxiv, 35. "De cujus (P. of M.) canonizatione facienda . . . apud magnos viros in Curia Romana sollicitudo incubuit, ac longo tempore duravit."

³ Nic. Trivet, *Chron.*, p. 411, cf. Ptol. of L., *l.c.*; Stef., *Prose*, p. 13, and *Can.*, i, 16, and his *Ceremonial*, p. 61 ff.

⁴ Ap. Seppelt, p. 211 ff.

⁵ Cantèra, p. 87, citing *Acta conciliorum*, t. vii, p. 1360, ed. Paris, 1714. Cf. Stef., *Ceremonial*, p. 61.

the authority of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and on our own, we decide that he (Peter of Morrone) is to be enrolled in the Catalogue of the Saints." ¹

The portrait we have given of Celestine is said to be taken from a most ancient original, and certainly may be said to bear a number of marks of authenticity. It is taken from Zecca, *Memorie artistiche istoriche della Badia di S. Spirito sul Monte Maiella*, p. 103. In the church of S. Pietro a Maiella in Naples there are pictures showing Pope Celestine giving a bull of exemption to Abbot Onofrio da Comina. Cf. Filangieri, *Di alcuni dipinti nella chiesa di S. Pietro*, t. ii, pp. 308 f., 320 f., Naples, 1881. But these date only from the seventeenth century, being the work of Calabrese (mostly from Cantèra, pp. 4, n., and 101, n.). In the book of caricatures entitled *Malorum initium*, Celestine is represented in the habit of a religious with cowl and tonsure. In his right hand he has a sickle and in his left a rose. The inscription on the picture ran: "Cœlestinus P. V. Elatio, paupertas, obedia, castitas, temperantia, gastrimargia." Cf. Pipinus, *Chron.*, iv, c. 40.

¹ See the bull, e.g., in the Benedictine ed. of the *Register* of C. V., n. 9668, vol. vii, p. 292 ff. The Pope also granted indulgences to those who visited the tomb of the Saint on the anniversary of his death or during its octave; and Philip le Bel, believing he had scored a point against the memory of Boniface VIII., gave substantial presents to those who first brought him the news of the canonization. Cf. Baluze, *Vitæ PP. Avenion.*, i, p. 607, quoting from a *Regest. cameræ Comptorum Paris*. Cf. Stef., *Prosa*, p. 14 (S. assisted the Pope as deacon in the Cathedral at Avignon on the occasion of the publication of the bull), *Canon.*, ii, cc. 1-8, and *Ceremon.*, p. 65. In the days of Charles III. of Durazzo and other Angevin Kings of Naples, Aquila and Sulmona are said to have coined money bearing on the reverse the bust of St. Celestine with mitre and cope, and the words: S. Petrus Papa F. S., etc., which Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.*, ii, p. 630 (plates, pp. 639-40) believes to refer to St. Peter Celestine. Cf. Cantèra, pp. 92-3.

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